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Special Double Issue

JULY 14, 1964

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

A PROGRAM FOR A GOLDWATER ADMINISTRATION

Also In This Issue:

JAMES BURNHAM ON THE SHIBBOLETH OF WORLD OPINION ◆ WILL HERBERG ON MARTIN LUTHER KING AND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ◆ ALSO BUCKLEY, MEYER, DAVENPORT, KAPLAN, EVANS, RUSSELL

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"To ride, shoot straight, and speak the truth—
This was the ancient Law of Youth.
Old times are past, old days are done;
But the Law runs true, O little son!"

—Charles T. Davis

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ We present a Program for a Goldwater Administration: In effect, such an issue as would be published immediately after a Goldwater victory in November. What, specifically, might he do in domestic affairs? In foreign affairs? In respect of certain odd-lot problems? How would the European community view his election? The proposals are made, respectively, by writers familiar to our readers. **James Jackson Kilpatrick,** editor of the *Richmond News-Leader;* **James Burnham,** senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW and author of *Suicide of the West;* **"Pyrrho,"** an undercover conservative in the bureaucracy; **Colm Brogan,** author and a frequent London correspondent; and Professor **Hugh Kenner,** whose most recent book, *The Stoic Comedians,* is just out in an English edition. We have been asked: Did you consult with Senator Goldwater in the framing of the proposals? The reply: certainly not. The proposals are what the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW would enjoin on Goldwater if he were elected: but there is nothing there, as we search our memory, that conflicts with any position Senator Goldwater has actually taken.

➔ **"M. M. Morton"** is the pseudonym of a professional observer of the Communist Party and its epigoni. He gives us a timely report on the extent of the infiltration by the Party in the Bay Area civil rights movement. . . . **Gerald Kaplan,** a lawyer and candidate for Ph.D. in political science at Yale, would like to see an open shop for lawyers in those states that compel membership in bar associations.

➔ From the regular writers: **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.,** having nothing political to complain about on the week that Senator Goldwater stands to get nominated, finds a few non-political matters to complain about. . . . Professor **Will Herberg** examines the proposition of Dr. Martin Luther King that disobedience of an unjust law is a just act. . . . **Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn** examines some trends in the evolution of European socialism. . . . **James Burnham** explodes some of the myths of World Opinion. . . . **Frank Meyer** tells why he thinks the Johnson Administration is vulnerable. . . . And **Russell Kirk** gives a volley at the academic chiselers who exercise their academic freedom by persecuting those of their students who are partisans of Senator Goldwater.

➔ **M. Stanton Evans,** editor of the *Indianapolis News,* reviews the new political novel of Eugene Burdick. So-so. . . . **Guy Davenport** doesn't at all like Robert Penn Warren's *Flood,* doesn't especially like Gore Vidal's *Julian,* greatly likes Hortense Calisher's *Extreme Magic.* . . . General **Thomas A. Lane** (Ret.) reviews *The Swordbearers: Supreme Command in the First World War.* . . . And **Francis Russell** writes about Brendan Behan.

➔ Watch in succeeding issues for reports on the Republican Convention by **John Dos Passos, Wm. Buckley,** and **Frank Meyer.** ➔

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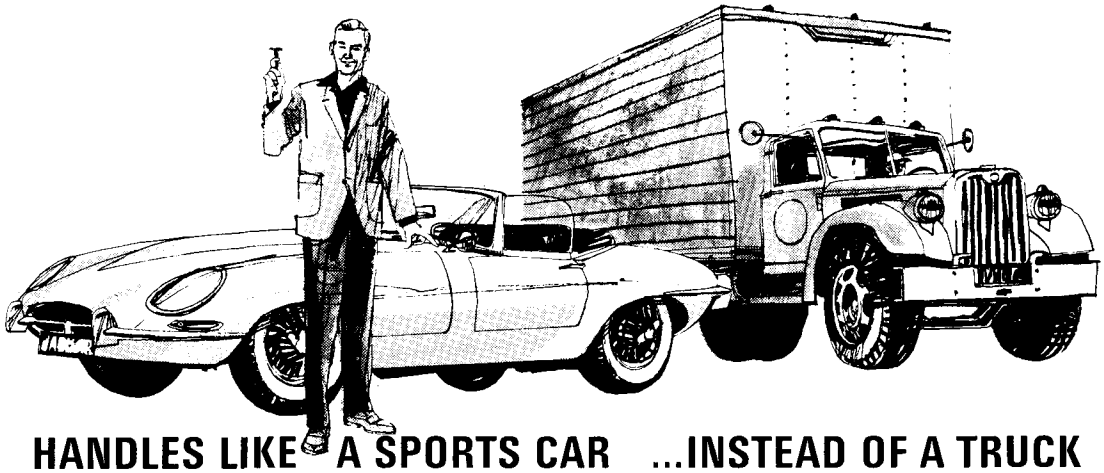
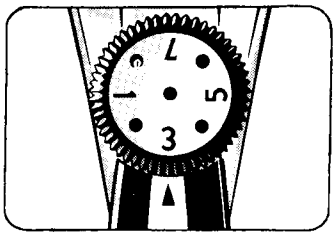


HANDLES LIKE A SPORTS CAR ...INSTEAD OF A TRUCK



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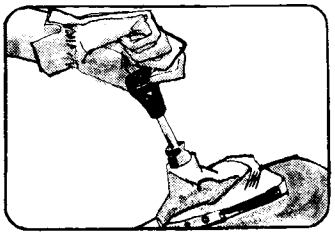

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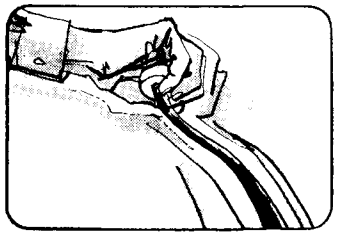

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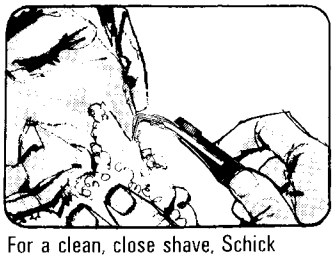

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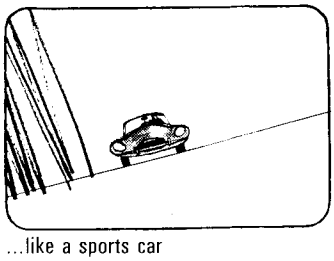

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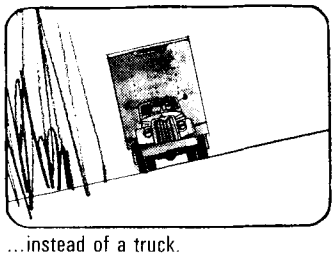

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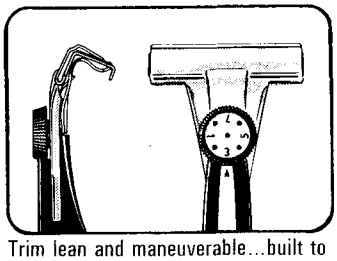

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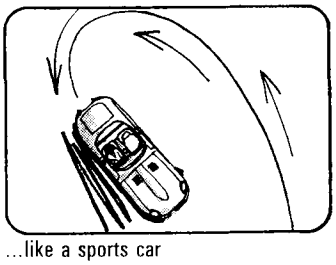

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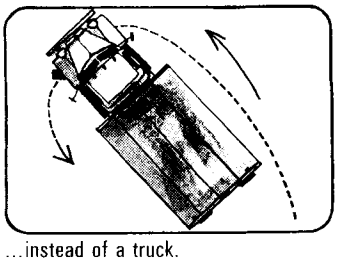

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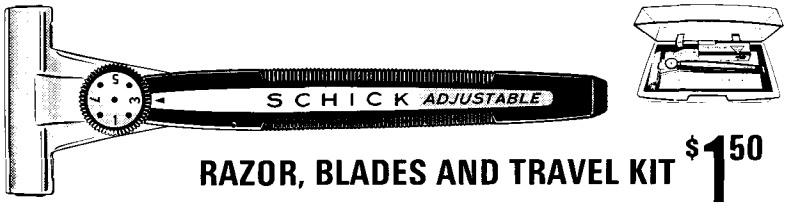

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Suicide of the West by James Burnham
Diplomat Among Warriors—Robt. Murphy
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Occasions and Protests, upcoming collection of John Dos Passos' political writings
Herbert Hoover, Eugene Lyons' brand new biography

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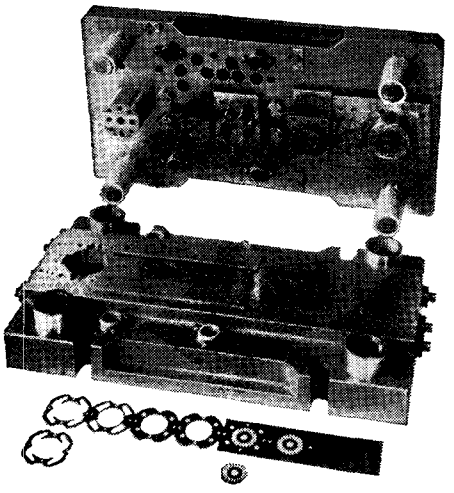

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To the Editor

The Court

Re: "Non-Violent Revolution" [June 30]. Bravo!

Maybe a few hundred more decisions like this might stir even NATIONAL REVIEW toward impeachment of Earl Warren. . . .

Wichita, Kans. L. S. ABBOTT

Lucely Speaking

Upon reading "Tears for the Grand Old Party" by Clare Boothe Luce [June 30]:

Vitriolic is the Luce.
No velvet glove on hand,
No poison pen by accident,
Each well-aimed stab is planned.

And here sit I—a lunatic
Pealing laughter with each kick!
And every bite that's so artistic
Makes me feel a bit sadistic . . .

Because I do enjoy the barb
That so exposes mental garb
Of men unseated. . . .
Yea! . . . defeated!

Indianapolis, Ind. ANNA M. MC ANDREWS

Hypocrisy?

As a faithful reader of your magazine throughout the years, I have lately become disturbed by the tone of hypocrisy exhibited both by your contributors and your editorial policy.

Miss Elspeth Huxley has been laying much on the line (to paraphrase your terminology) to us readers of the REVIEW; indeed, she has been pandering to the American conservative's lust for news of the inabilities of the black African to successfully meet the standards of Western civilization. Yet, this same woman authored several rather lugubrious pieces for *Punch* this spring in which she emphatically denounced segregation and apartheid as the immoral deeds of amoral people.

Clare Boothe Luce's article [June 30] came in the wake of her recent pronouncement at St. John's University that we should be ready to commence negotiations with Mao Tse-tung. This suggestion was immediately and enthusiastically endorsed by, among other Liberals, John Carter Vincent. Perhaps Mr. Vincent might be willing to contribute a piece on Senator McCarthy.

Perhaps it is hypocritical of me to

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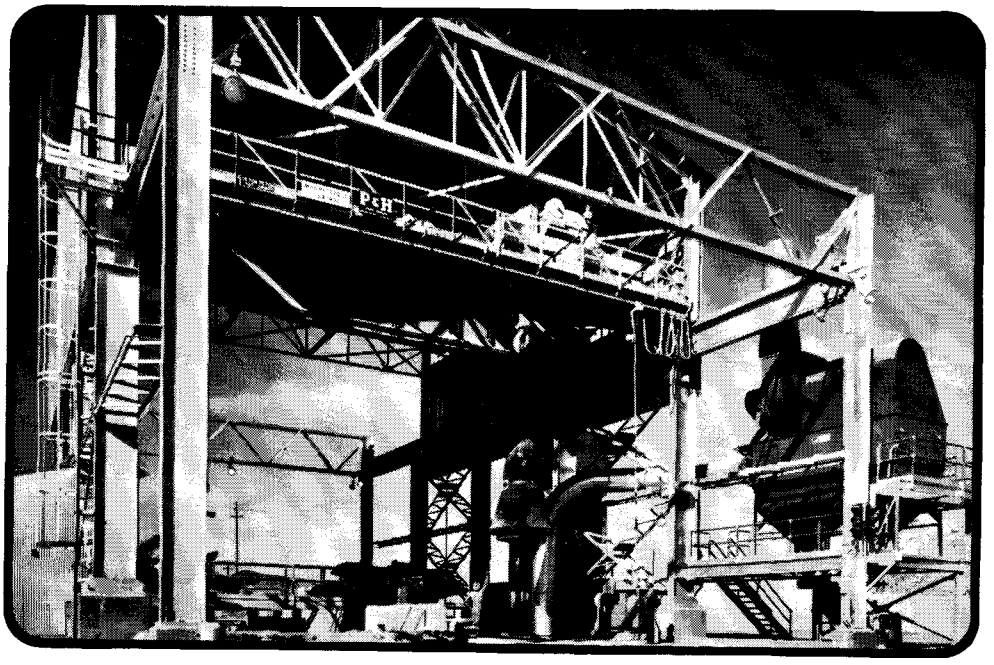

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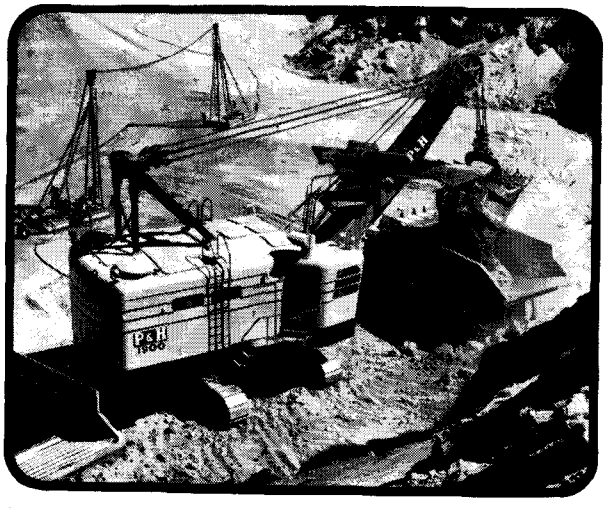

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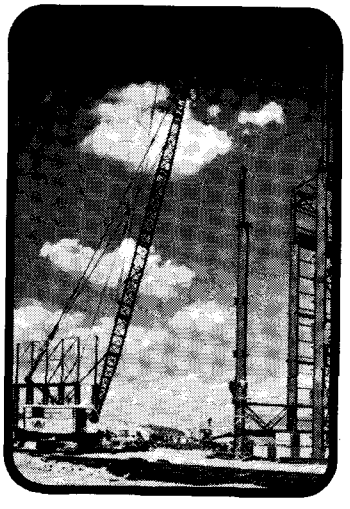

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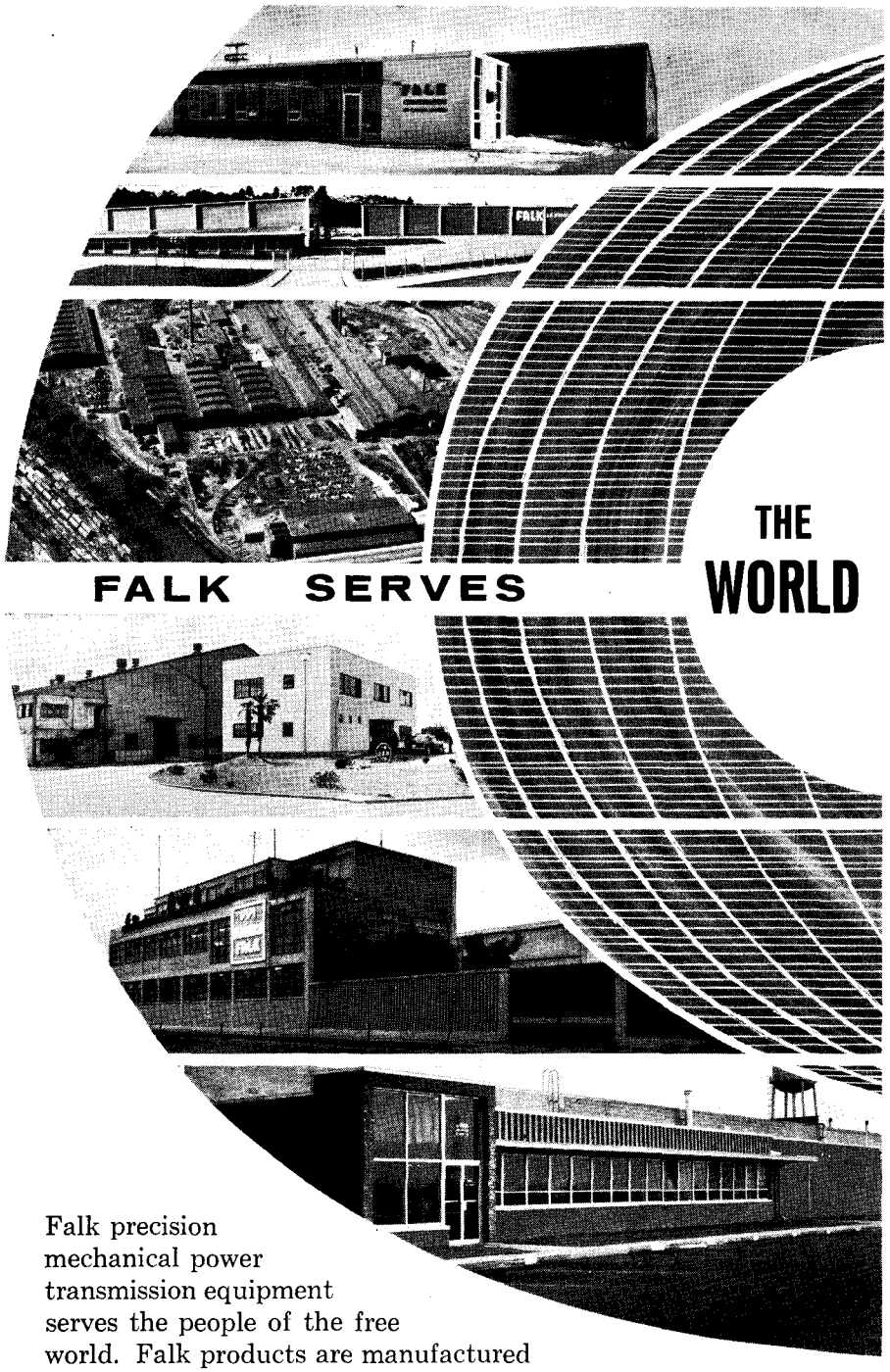

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THE FALK CORPORATION, *Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

close this letter by asking that your most brilliant writer, Colm Brogan, contribute one of his thirst-quenching articles for his American admirers.

New York, N.Y. GUY TAFT GASPARI

1) Miss Huxley has never endorsed apartheid, or segregation—and neither have the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW. *2) Mrs. Luce's position on Mao Tse-tung can only be understood by reading the full text of her speech. 3) Glad to oblige—see p. 595.* —ED.

RFK for V.P.

I find the tone of Wm. Buckley's "Bobby for President?" article [June 16] defeatist. I believe the electorate is going to reject the grassroots yahooism of Lyndon Love-a-Buck Johnson regardless of who is second man on his ticket, but the presence of Robert Kennedy's name would surely make defeat certain. Robert is known to the average voter as the chief instigator of the racial tension which will have become the number one issue of the election long before November. If large-scale violence should explode beforehand, or appear evident, the electorate will be in a mood to inflict punishment on the demagogic irresponsibles of the political Left.

So by all means, let's go to the brink: I say—Johnson *and* Kennedy!

Los Angeles, Cal. EUGENE S. COOPER

RFK for Attorney General

Re: "On the Slanting of the News" by Harold S. Taylor in your June 16 issue. Who will edit the slanted news that Mr. Taylor writes? Truth is that Bobby did "screen" Judge Cox but the prospect of juvenile Bobby passing judgment on the legal qualifications of Harold Cox is comparable to a Kenya witch doctor ruling on the qualifications of J. Edgar Hoover.

North Little Rock, Ark. I. HOOD

That Radioactive Belt

In NATIONAL REVIEW for June 16 is a letter by Michael Lindsay, which you caption "Crossing the Yalu." In his letter Lindsay criticizes MacArthur's remarks about putting down a five-mile-wide belt of radioactive cobalt, in these words: "And did you consider the logistics of putting down along this front a five-mile-wide belt of radioactive cobalt when the stuff can only be transported safely

(Continued on p. 619)

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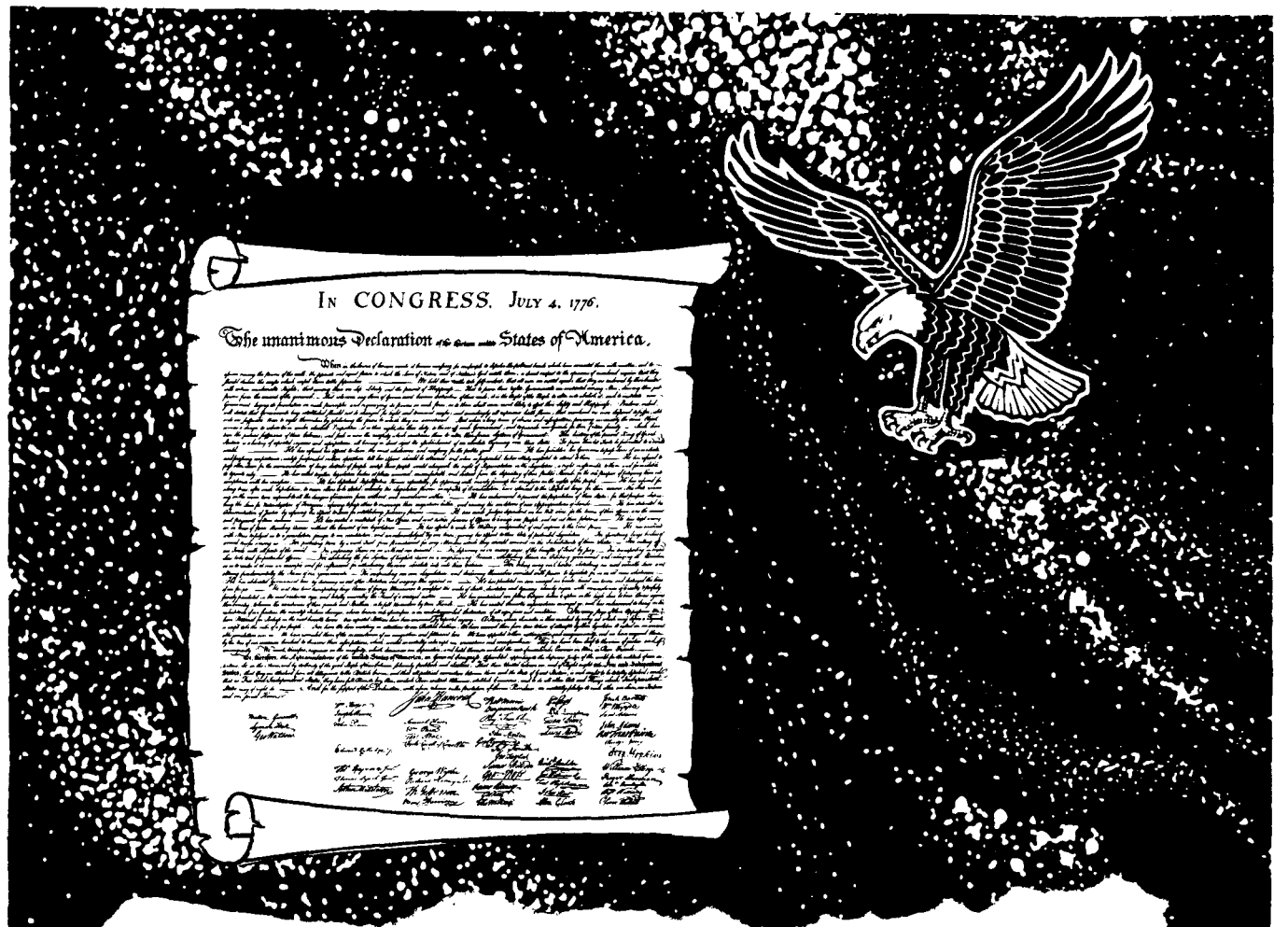

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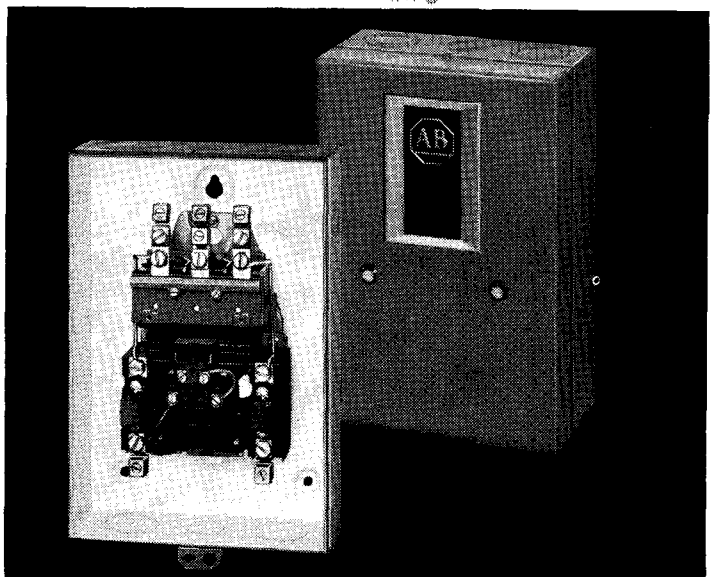

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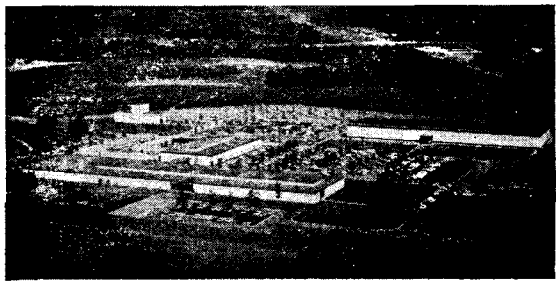

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The WEEK

● Rep. Wright Patman (D., Tex.), the House tout for cheap money, has exhumed for the *n*th time a proposal to "reform" the Federal Reserve system. The idea is to make the Fed more "responsive" to "changing times"—though it's hard to see how it might have responded any more handsomely than it has in the last twelve years or so to the challenge of stuffing $60 billion of new federal debt down the gullets of the banking system. The general idea is to make the FRB a mere creature of the President, so that his ideas on monetary policy can get put into practice *ipso presto, hey facto*, etc. It's ironic to consider how, if a really sound-money gentleman became President, Rep. Wright Patman would suddenly discover the wisdom of high principle in taking the Fed out of the clutches of the President and making it "truly independent."

● Actual Case History #81941, How Government Intervention Messes Up the Marketplace. Some eight years ago the Feds noticed that their zinc stockpile was a little low, and laid in a mountain of zinc at premium prices. They also established price supports for zinc, bringing in and subsidizing inefficient, marginal producers, penalizing efficient producers through the contraction of the market due to artificially high prices, and, of course, glutting the market with overproduction. Within the last year or two, market demand for zinc has caught up with the overproduction, and zinc is again in short supply; the price of zinc will soon rise; now will the government act positively to strike a balance between efficient production and economical consumption of zinc? Will it in short, to ease a mess of its own making, release some of its massive overstock of zinc, or lower the quotas on the import of Canadian zinc? Nope. Instead, ultra-marginal producers, espying a quick buck in the extra high prices of the moment, will be subsidized to open inefficient zinc deposits for production, which would fossilize the snafu.

● Are you a Federal Executive, GS-14 or better? Who desires to know more about Critical Issues and Decisions? Well, the United States Department of Agriculture, it transpires, subsidizes not just farmers, but also intellectuals. The series this year features six lecturers. Two of them are routine technicians (an economist and an architect). The other four are Mr. Harry Ashmore, of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions (née, Fund for the Republic); Max Lerner, columnist for the *New York Post;* David Riesman, of Harvard, and Erich Fromm. The first two gentlemen we would characterize as belonging to the moderate wing of the extreme Left, the last two as belonging to the left wing of the extreme Left. It would be nice, wouldn't it, if Mazda Johnson would turn off not only unnecessary light bulbs, but also unnecessary intellectuals?

● Towards the end of May the Portuguese government invited U Thant (for the fourth time) to pay a visit to Angola and Mozambique, in order to see for himself what conditions prevail in those two areas that have become a favorite hunting preserve of the UN's political predators. For the fourth time, U Thant refused to go, asserting his visit would be useless, or words to that effect. Meanwhile he completed his plans for an eighteen-day swing through London, Paris, Geneva, Rangoon, and of course Moscow.

● Lest anyone doubt that the Monroe Doctrine has been horribly breached, we note that Fidel Castro has now adopted the classic Communist answer to problems of socialist underproduction: he has instituted the pure revolutionary doctrine of incentive payment to workers who produce above their quota.

● In the current *Financial Analysts Journal* Professor Leonard Ascher discusses the gathering difficulties in the U.S. coinage and treats the possibility of a total withdrawal from silver. The country's principal silver factor, Handy & Harman, suggests that "a complete elimination of silver from subsidiary coinage is the best means of assuring an adequate supply of coin for the indefinite future." The current *Investment Bulletin* of the American Institute for Research says, "We believe that investment of a portion of one's funds in silver coins may well provide substantial gains. . . . Unless the individual involved is an experienced collector . . . we do not recommend the purchase of coins at prices above their face values. . . . If by chance the nation's silver coinage proves to be the Achilles heel of the program for gradual 'embezzlement' by prolonged inflating, those who hoard coins will have helped to end the dangerous drift toward a runaway inflation."

● Michael A. DeNunzio, a student at St. John's University, came up with a fascinating conclusion after conducting an opinion survey for a course in marketing. He interviewed 200 people, asking each one his opinion on ten issues of domestic or foreign policy, and finally asking each one whether he'd support Johnson or Goldwater. About 62 per cent said they'd vote for Johnson. However, about 65 per cent agreed with the Goldwater position on the ten policy questions. Even among the 124 Johnson supporters, writes DeNunzio, the voters "agreed with Goldwater on

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seven out of ten issues . . . Such overwhelming support clearly indicates that Senator Goldwater's positions on the issues confronting the nation are very popular and very much in concert with the desires and aspirations of the American people."

● LeRoi Jones, the man who perhaps has profited most this theater season serving homobromos to jaded Liberal appetites, certainly the Rookie of the Year among playwrights, nowadays finds a ready audience among reporters whereas in leaner years he had only fellow Greenwich Villagers to molest. "America," Jones tells all comers, "is a lunatic asylum." What then? "Whatever anyone can say about Cuba," he says, "I know it's a cleaner government than our own."

● Where's Soapy? (Tshombe wants to know.)

Goldwater in '64

It was NATIONAL REVIEW's estimate, when the California result came in, that Barry Goldwater had clinched the nomination. We continue on that assumption. The opposition, during these last weeks, has been merely flailing around. It is impossible to take Governor Scranton's bid for the 1964 Presidential nomination seriously.

Consider their flabbergasted bewilderment. They just can't believe—the Lodges, Lippmanns, Scrantons, Alsops, Javitses, Rockefellers—that This has happened to *them*. Why, Goldwater is a harmless fringe type from a very minor state! His supporters are only a handful of kooks. Half an hour's national exposure and he'll be washed up. What an absurdity to think this sort of character could take command of one of the political parties in a nation of 200 million persons! *"No serious Republican politician"*—let us repeat Joe Alsop's dictum of March 6, 1964—*"no serious Republican politician, even of the most Neanderthal type, any longer takes Goldwater seriously."*

How wrong they were, how absolutely, ludicrously wrong. Running against the field, against nearly all major newspapers and against unlimited money, Goldwater took the votes and the delegates: as many votes in the direct primaries as all his opponents together; more votes than Jack Kennedy got in 1960; more than a million votes in the largest Republican primary turnout in history, in a state not known for backward glances. How feeble the complaint that "he has the delegates but not the rank and file." Who are these delegates? And what do they want if not to win elections, which are won by the votes of the rank and file? Who knows more about the wishes of the Republican rank and file, the elected delegates to the convention or Joe Alsop?

By their total miscalculations, the anti-Goldwaterites reveal the truth about themselves: that they have got out of touch with this "rank and file" —and not only the Republican ranks—in whose name they are fond of sounding off. It is precisely the anti-Goldwaterites whose clocks are stopped, who have broken communications with the present. None of them has reflected on the fact, surely of major historic significance, that no American political figure save Goldwater, in either party, has a mass personal following. Individually, the alternate Republican leaders got nowhere with their several campaigns; and they were unable to get together.

For a good long while now the Republican Party has been stuck in the caked mud of the past. Everybody has known it, really. The elegant stuffed-shirted Eastern leadership, official and unofficial, has come to symbolize the Party's near-obsolescence. Imagine Scranton or Lodge or Rockefeller pretending to speak for Texas or California! And it is not only the GOP that has been stuck. The truth is that the nation, with all its postwar affluence, has never managed to lift itself out of the ethos of the Great Depression. Our domestic affairs have continued to be conducted in terms of what may rightly be called "depression economics." All these paternalistic, regimenting,

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Focus on NOV. 3

◆ *Newsday*, a Long Island paper, carried a story (May 24) about Lester Wolf, Democratic-Liberal candidate for Congress from Nassau County, in which Wolf is quoted as saying that when he visited Henry Cabot Lodge in Saigon, Lodge gave him some advice on how to topple the incumbent, conservative, and Republican Congressman Steven Derounian.

◆ 1) Bobby Kennedy, asked whether he intended to run for the Senate, ruled out that possibility, but simultaneously ruled out the possibility that having ruled out that possibility signified he had ruled out the possibility of running for Vice President. 2) Bobby Kennedy, making the traditional foreign tour to establish his credentials back home as a world statesman, has added the overtones of office to the undertones of ambition, by literally following the late President Kennedy's footsteps through Berlin, invoking his name and repeating his words ("ich bin," u.s.w.), and pledging himself to his late brother's program. 3) Bobby Kennedy just about unbagged the cat when he made one European occasion into a platform for an attack on Senator Goldwater. 4) Bobby Kennedy will let President Johnson know when the time is appropriate for announcing their candidacies.

◆ Why was Allen Dulles sent to Mississippi? Because he's a Republican. President Johnson is leaning heavily on the old tactic of assigning members of the opposition party to cover the rough problems. In Vietnam he inherited Henry Cabot Lodge and kept him on; and welcomed him back to the U.S., though Lodge was obviously engaged in anti-Johnson domestic politics, with unprecedented and otherwise inexplicable publicity; and replaced him with a career (and therefore not ostentatiously Democratic) diplomat (Johnson, U. Alexis) and a career officer (General Taylor) whose rise to major command occurred during the Eisenhower years. Didn't McNamara say he had always been a Republican? And what in the world induced Henry Ford II, a life-long Republican, to announce he was going to vote for Johnson, even before the Republicans had nominated their candidates? As for the civil rights bill, President Johnson expresses his sincere thanks to—Everett McKinley Dirksen.

◆ The pollstergeists are upon us again. The Rev. Dr. Gallup says: "In the political judgment of both Republican and Democratic county chairmen across the nation, Sen. Barry Goldwater has an exceptionally tough fight ahead to win in November, in the event he captures the GOP nomination. . . . Sen. Goldwater, the overwhelming personal choice of Republican 'pros,' is given about an even chance of defeating President Johnson. The figures: President Johnson—48 per cent; Sen. Goldwater—47 per cent; undecided—5 per cent." Democratic pros believe (91 per cent) that Johnson will win. Governor Scranton's private polls show President Johnson winning 63 per cent of the vote in Maryland, 64 per cent in Ohio, and 72 per cent in New Jersey; and the Scranton office quoted polls, taken by others, showing Johnson at 52 per cent in Iowa, Johnson and Goldwater neck and neck in Minnesota, and Goldwater slightly ahead in North Dakota. Robert G. Spivack, traveling through the provincial areas that commence just west of the Potomac and stretch to the Pacific, reports that "there is a sullen silence in these parts, even among normally Democratic poor whites, which could produce some surprising results in the general election." And the impartial *Congressional Quarterly* has reported on its polling done early in June: of GOP congressmen, 51.5 per cent thought Goldwater the "strongest Republican" candidate in November (Scranton 25.3); of non-incumbent Republican candidates for senator, representative, or governor, 73.4 per cent thought Goldwater the "strongest." *CQ* also polled the nation's editors, 610 of whom responded, a majority of whom picked a Goldwater-Scranton ticket as the strongest for the GOP and Johnson-Humphrey as strongest for the Democrats.

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bureaucratic devices that were scrambled together in the general dismay and panic of the Depression have been not merely prolonged but enlarged and multiplied in an era to which they no longer have the slightest relevance and serve primarily as brake and drag.

The Democrats initiated and have for the most part administered our depression-style economy (or "Welfare State," as they prefer to call it). The "moderate" Republican leaders are in these matters merely second-hand Democrats; and that is why they, and the Republican Party with them, are even more outdated than the Democrats and their party.

In foreign affairs, the political leadership of both parties has never faced up to the realities of the postwar world. It has taken, essentially, a defensive, sterile attitude both to the negative challenge of the Communist enterprise and the positive challenge to build a strong, peaceful and prosperous free world policy. Its passivity is expressed in what amounts to the *renunciation of victory*: not simply of military victory, which may not be directly involved, but of victory for our civilization and its ideals.

Goldwater's nomination means that the membership of the Republican Party—and not of the Republican Party only—has shown that it wants to break out of the obsolescent harness of depression economics and defeatist foreign policy, that it wishes to release this nation's springs of creative energy. In the Supplement included with this issue, we suggest some

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of the specific applications a creative policy might have in the event of a Goldwater Administration. In the true sense, this turn is once more toward progressive advance: and "conservative" has never been the opposite of "progressive"; it is only deep roots in the past that make possible a firm growth into the future.

Ike for VP? (Cont.)

Following the publication of Mr. James Jackson Kilpatrick's article analyzing the provisions of the 22nd and 12th Amendments to the Constitution in the light of the proposal that Dwight Eisenhower run for Vice President on a Goldwater ticket, several prominent Republicans, with ACA ratings running from 37 per cent (Aiken) to 100 per cent (Findley), have given their views on the proposal. From former Senator Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Judiciary Committee that wrote and shepherded the 22nd Amendment through Congress in 1947, we had a direct statement which we published in the June 30th issue, to the effect that the 22nd Amendment was not intended to cover such situations as Dwight Eisenhower's. The Speaker of the House during that year was Joseph R. Martin Jr., who writes: "I never thought the Constitution stood in President Eisenhower's way"—and goes on to urge that Ike be drafted: "If he would take this new prospective assignment, there's no question he would be elected. It would chase away any doubts that some people now seem to entertain concerning our coming national ticket. If Ike went on the ticket, he would bring to it that stability, confidence and security we all want . . . He well might have to face up to a personal sacrifice, but I have no doubt it would be a winning sacrifice."

From Senator George S. Aiken:

> I am happy to go along in suggesting former President Eisenhower as Vice President at this critical period in world history. . . . As Speaker Joe indicates, it will undoubtedly be a great sacrifice for the former President to re-enter the national political arena. However, for one who has so ardently preached party unity it is up to him to decide. If he wants it, he undoubtedly will get it."

Senator Frank Carlson:

> I am pleased to receive this most interesting news . . . [The] suggestion well warrants the careful and prayerful consideration of every delegate and alternate to our convention. Likewise, as a Kansan and a great admirer of our former President I feel confident he will give this matter of the Vice Presidency careful and prayerful consideration. I know his decision will be made in the best interest of our country and the Free World.

Senator Jack Miller:

> To stand a chance of winning in November, we have got to put up a *team* as the Democrats did in 1960. It was the team of Kennedy-Johnson that won for the Democrats. . . . In order to produce a winning team, a Goldwater-Eisenhower ticket would mean both geographic and philosophical balance.

From Congressman Leslie Arends:

> . . . It's up to Ike. I'm for Ike for anything he wants.

From Senator John Marshall Butler (former Senator from Maryland):

> If Ike is the price of unity, I'm for it.

From Congressman Paul Findley:

> In presenting the argument for a Barry-Ike ticket the NATIONAL REVIEW puts forth a most interesting idea. . . . Former President Eisenhower, of course, is the one American especially adapted to get his old NATO back on the track. If he were Vice President, he could perform a great service in this connection. Such a role for Ike captures one's imagination.

From Senator Karl Mundt:

> Ike would make a very attractive and popular candidate for the Vice Presidency. In that capacity, his counsel on public affairs in general, and foreign affairs in particular, would be of great value for the Republican President with whom he served. If I were a delegate to the coming Convention, I would consider it an honor to nominate Ike for the Vice Presidency.

Mississippi

As of this writing the three young men missing in Mississippi are still missing, and are presumed dead. What is appropriate to say about them, that does not sound banal? That their death is tragic? Tragedy defined as the pitting of finite against infinite odds? Was their death the necessary result of their idealistic challenge to the encrusted ways of Mississippi? Only in the sense that almost certainly someone, out of the horde who have gone down into Mississippi, was bound to be hurt—their own leaders solemnly assured them of this almost certain eventuality, and some of their leaders almost certainly wanted it that way, as Joseph Alsop has pointed out. And so the question was less whether some of them would be hurt, than how many, and how grievously. If 300 campaigners for the States' Rights movement of George Wallace were to move tomorrow into Harlem to attempt to evangelize their position there, the question would be the same: not whether one or more of them would be hurt, but which of them, and how hard.

Attention focuses then on the nature of their ven-

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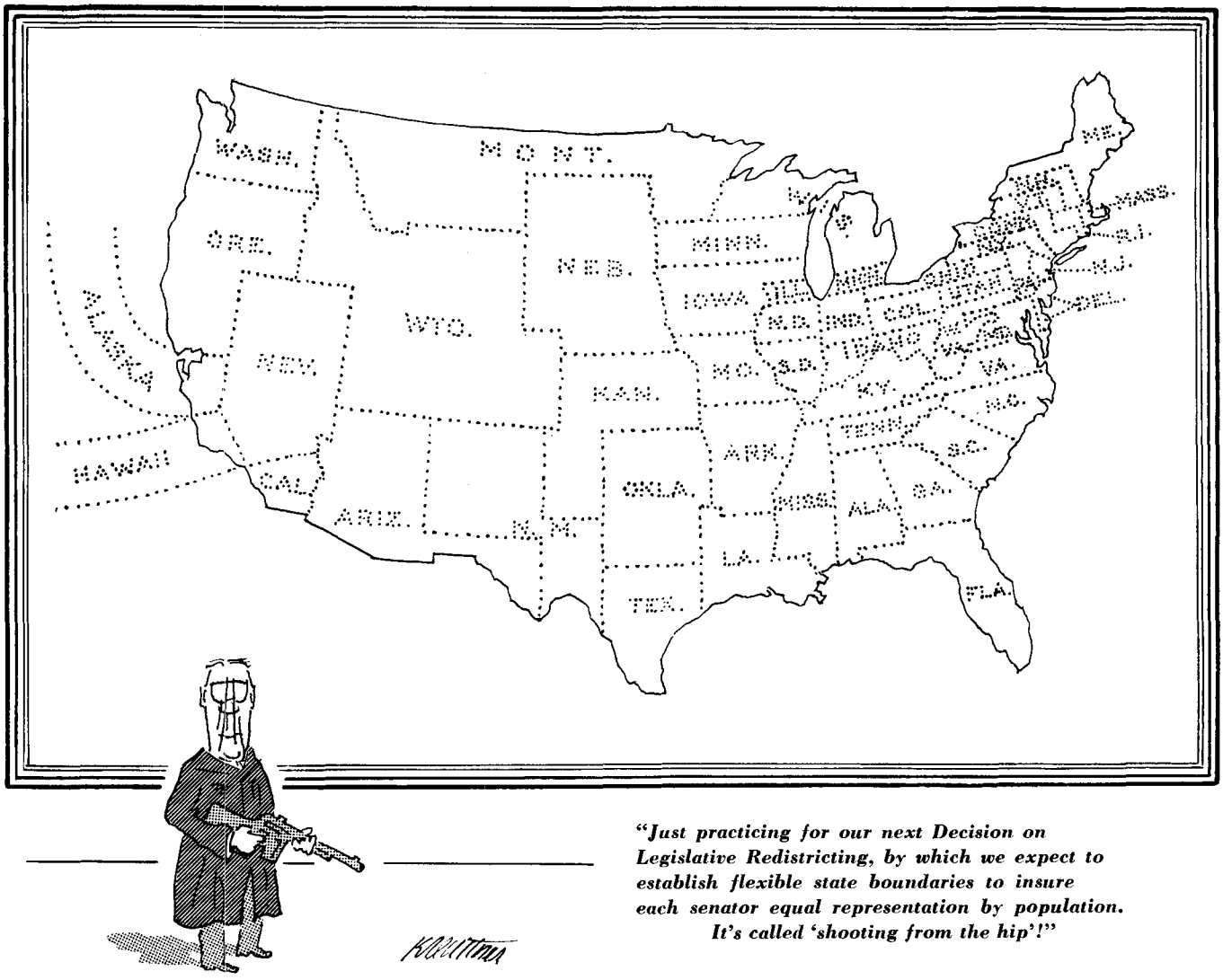
ture. We may admire their idealism even while we find their vision short—not unlike the brave students in Budapest who hurled themselves against Russian tanks: who did so, moreover, on the flimsy hope that the free world's conscience would be galvanized by their sacrifice.

But of course it wasn't, they died in vain, and we conveniently forgot their sacrifice. It is a trademark of our time that sacrifices must strive to be realistic. The intellectual genealogy for that distinction is very old, and quite respectable. St. Thomas laid it down as one of the conditions for a just war that the warring party must have reasonable hope for success. Do the students who have ventured into Mississippi have reasonable hope for success, or is it their mission merely to make a demonstration? In which case the martyrdom of some of their number must be said, in wholly logical terms, to conduce to the making of their point.

The problem in Mississippi may not be as easy to solve as is suggested by the bare voting statistics, which indicate that 69 per cent of the adult whites are registered to vote, while only 9 per cent of the Negroes are. Statistics of that kind are, if overmagnified, considerably misleading. Unlike the democratic absolutists, some of us are capable of rejoicing at the number of people who do *not* exercise their technical right to vote. Too many countries in the democratic world have gone down into totalitarianism because some demagogue or other has persuaded everyone who can stagger to the polls to go there, and vote: usually to give power to himself. That was the route the Argentinians took when they voted to surrender their freedom to Perón.

The challenge, in a mature political society, is to lure to the polls those who will cast responsible votes. And here is the dilemma of the anti-Mississippians: who find themselves bemoaning the ignorance of the Negro population in Mississippi, the result presumably of a white overlordship that has deprived them of a satisfactory education—and yet saying that these ignorant people must be made to vote. But what would they vote for, if they are not yet trained to vote deliberately? Who would emerge as their



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leaders and heroes? Would they, having become a mobilized and enfranchised political minority, achieve the wisdom of their brothers in Harlem, who, having learned to despise Ross Barnett, have learned to adore Adam Clayton Powell Jr.? How to solve that dilemma, which the democratically-obsessed who have traveled to Mississippi have, so far as one can see, so little meditated on?

Isn't the answer, if there is one, to insure that qualified Negroes vote in Mississippi, but to constrain Mississippi, through the exercise of popular pressure, to so adjust its voting standards as to see to it that some effort, at least, is made to bring out the qualified vote, as opposed to the unqualified vote? Mississippi cannot have it both ways. The laws of the Constitution and of the public morality decree that no one shall be denied a vote on account of race, color or creed. Otherwise the legislature of Mississippi may specify qualifications for voting: and it is high time they did so, and applied them equally to black and white.

But at the same time let us resist being seduced by our outrage over the act of a few desperadoes in Mississippi (there are desperadoes everywhere: when President Johnson is through with Allen Dulles in Mississippi, he might send him to Central Park), into believing that the students who have gone down there to register Negro voters have their eye on a *deus ex machina*. What is needed in Mississippi is not in any way different from what is needed in New York: it is education in right thought.

Washington Franklin Kathrada

A worldwide campaign of protest has already begun against the life sentences imposed by South Africa's Supreme Court on African Nationalist leader Nelson R. Mandela and seven other foes of apartheid. As the debates and votes in the United Nations this past year have shown, most of the world regards the convicted men as heroes and freedom fighters. They are considered the George Washingtons and Benjamin Franklins of South Africa, not criminals deserving punishment.

New York Times
June 14,1964

The United Party (South Africa's main Opposition Party) wanted to place on record that it is convinced that the verdicts in the Rivonia Sabotage Trial had been just, necessary, and right in view of the actions to which the accused themselves had pleaded guilty, the Leader of the UP, Sir de Villiers Graaff, said in the South African Parliament.

Christian Science Monitor
June 15, 1964

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

SAN FRANCISCO, July 13-18

By the Staff
and
John Dos Passos

The only member of the Progressive Party in the House, Mrs. H. Suzman, stated on June 10 that she agreed that it was nonsense to say, as some people did, that people in South Africa were [prosecuted or jailed] because they went on strike or were opposed to apartheid.

Reuters
June 10, 1964

The conviction and sentences in the Rivonia Trial were bound to create an uproar overseas, where the idea seems to exist that the accused were convicted for "opposing apartheid."

They are certainly opponents of apartheid, but that was not the charge brought against them. They were accused of criminal acts, they received a fair trial and they were properly convicted according to law. . . .

The Rivonia verdict serves as a clear warning that the South African people will not tolerate sabotage, guerrilla warfare, revolution or any other form of violence as a method of settling political disputes. Such activities will not win popular support and those who seek to promote unrest and subversion must expect not only to be caught, but also to be severely dealt with according to law.

Johannesburg Sunday Times
(an Opposition, anti-apartheid daily)
June 14, 1964

Ahmed Mohammed Kathrada, accused No. 5, was found guilty on Count No. 2 [conspiring to aid or procure the commission of or to commit acts of guerrilla warfare, acts of assistance to military units of foreign countries, and acts of participation in a violent revolution in the country]. Kathrada, said the judge, admitted that he was a loyal member and follower of the South African Communist Party to whose aims he fully and unequivocally subscribed and was determined to see the fulfilment and aims of the Communist Party whose policy involves the overthrow of the Government of South Africa by force and violence if that should be necessary . . . the State has proved that Kathrada was a party to the conspiracy alleged in Count No. 2.

From the "Judge's Comments on Rivonia Trial"
June 10, 1963

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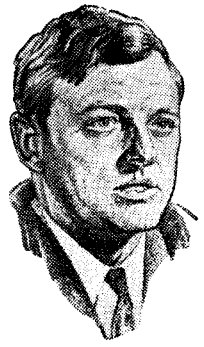
On the Right

The Complaint Box

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

. . . beginning a bi-yearly column, devoted to that little irritation which is hardly, like Lyndon Johnson's foreign policy, insupportable, but which has a way of getting under one's skin, and itching there, day after day, week after week, year after year, actually reaching the point—is there a doctor in the house? — where one begins to ignore it, like leprosy. Thus do societies become tyrannizable. A sharp observer of the human condition remarked to me a few years ago that the Communists had reached their final domestic success when, in 1957, for the first time since the heyday of Lenin's popularity, the dictator of the Soviet state could walk among his own people without risking physical injury. See, he observed sadly, wisely, how a people become inured to atrocity? Way, way back before reaching that stage when atrocities became a way of life, when people can cheer and applaud such manifest and unapologetic butchers as Khrushchev, a psychological preconditioning had begun: people had failed to react nervously against tiny, seemingly insignificant impositions upon their dignity, their independence.



Buckley

I played this theme a few years ago, in an article for *Esquire* Magazine called "Why Don't We Complain," which statement, to my chagrin, is more widely remembered by those who read it than any of my galactic pronunciamentos on the disorders of the social universe. I dealt there with little things; the conductor who lets the heat climb up to 90 degrees in the commuter train; the projectionist who lets the movie go just a little bit out of focus, and nobody does anything about it; the garage attendant who dawdles over the telephone making twit-twit with his paramour while your radiator is boiling over. . . .

Entries for this department must observe the ground rules. Political complaints are out—nothing permitted about how the local boss miscounted the vote. Grievous non-political complaints are out—nothing is allowed about the doctor who didn't come when Junior's appendix burst on Sunday morning; nothing about the mugger who cornered the lady in the elevator at 119th street. . . . This department is reserved for trivia, on the understanding that many molehills can bring down mountains.

The gates are open, and I enter herewith a few nominations for exasperating trivia of the season:

1) Welcome to New York, friends of the World's Fair. But if you come by car, pray do not attempt to go from, say, the World's Fair to the Triboro Bridge, or from Kennedy Airport to the Throgs Neck Bridge, without a police escort. Because you will not make your way, nor would Kit Carson. Mr. Carson had his compass, and might simply have laid out an azimuth and marched from here to there, north northeast, one quarter east: but Kit Carson would have been arrested a few hundred yards out, for turning left where only a right turn is permitted, or going north where only southbound traffic is permitted. Mr. Moses' prodigious accomplishment on the World's Fair apparently left him without the funds to indicate at intersections how one must proceed, if one desires to go home. There are the cynics who maintain that Mr. Moses' renowned guile is in high gear: that the whole idea is to leave the World's Fair and end up back at the World's Fair. But I am not a cynic. Nor will you be after missing that crucial turn, because no one thought to put up a sign, and you find yourself an hour later, slogging back to where you started.

2) The telephone company. I am an enormous admirer of it, and cherish the observation of Mr. Irving Kristol that anyone who has a mystical faith in the benefits of socialization has only to compare the performance of the socialized post office, with the performance of the monoply telephone company. But pray, why does the telephone company have to charge us forever and ever for all those faculties that are quickly amortized? For instance, the little lightweight Princess receiver: okay, charge fifteen, or whatever, dollars to install it, and a few dollars per month extra, sufficient to pay the extra costs of production, and then some. But why do we have to be charged, forever and ever, extra dollars until our grandchildren's grandchildren grow so old that they cannot lift the receiver off the hook? Do you want the dial on your phone illuminated? A few cents extra per month. Forever. Why doesn't the telephone company settle, say, for 1,000 per cent profit on such installations and then, finally, send along the President of the Company to kiss you on both cheeks, and tell you that the little light is yours in perpetuity—all, unbelievably, all yours?

3) There is that airline: United, which simultaneously advertises the joys and comforts and relaxation of traveling on their airline, and engages ladies as stewardesses who are trained in the ways of Carry Nation. At dinnertime a great majority of the American traveling public, most especially that part of the American public that is human enough to be slightly fidgety over the countergravitational effrontery of hurtling through the atmosphere at 600 miles per hour, desires a drink. Why doesn't the airline advertise itself as "The Teetotaler Airline—Travel With Us and Spare Yourself the Sight of Your Neighbor Sipping Demon-Rum Before Dinner?" I would have no complaint if the august airline in question would do just that. But it does not. It is hypocritical. Worse, it is paternalistic. It is, I humbly suggest, no more its business if a passenger desires a cocktail before dinner, than it is if

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From WASHINGTON Straight

Foreign Aid Forever

► For the first time in ten years, the White House has crushed effective congressional resistance to the inequities and inefficiencies of the foreign aid program. LBJ triumphed last week in a head-to-head battle with Chairman Otto Passman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Aid.

For Passman, a flamboyant, silk-suited country boy from the Louisiana delta, it was a bitter defeat. He was consistently outvoted in his own subcommittee, despite heavy Republican support, by a bloc of Administration Democrats. The mutiny against the chairman was led by Rep. Vaughan Gary (D., Va.). Gary is a curious figure. The late Clarence Cannon, long-time patriarch of the full Appropriations Committee, had steadfastly refused to give Gary an important subcommittee assignment; Cannon was reputedly skeptical of Gary's "temperament." It is widely believed, however, that Passman interceded with Cannon to secure Gary's appointment to the foreign aid subcommittee. (Passman had done important favors for Gary in several tough re-election campaigns.) In time, Gary rose to become ranking majority member of the subcommittee. It was from this position, after a visit to the White House last week, that Gary launched his rebellion against the chairman.

One Democrat, Rep. George Andrews (D., Ala.), voted with Passman against the recommended appropriation of $3.3 billion. Only Rep. Silvio Conte (R., Mass.) broke with the Republican minority.

In the full Appropriations Committee, which met behind locked doors, Passman continued his fight to trim fat from the program. He arrived armed with statistics gathered from AID and other agencies to show that an estimated $7 billion of unexpected foreign aid funds remained in the kitty as of June 30 from prior years' appropriations; that 26 different federal agencies dispensed foreign aid; that 71,416 people are now employed in the business of administering the foreign aid program.

The story was the same: the White House had been there first. Chairman George Mahon (D., Tex.) ran the day-long hearing with an iron hand. It was his first assignment from fellow-Texan LBJ since assuming the powerful chairmanship; and he was determined to shine. He did. According to one reliable source Rep. Jamie Whitten (D., Miss.) voted the Administration line on foreign aid for the first time in his 24-year House career. Rep. John Flynt (D., Ga.), a foe of big spending, did the same.

The two Democrats who braved reprisal and voted against the recommendation with Passman were: Robert Sikes (Fla.) and, again, George Andrews. Nineteen of 20 Republicans stood firm with Passman, reportedly on orders from Minority Leader Halleck. Mr. Conte again defected.

Passman carried his fight to the floor, but he was beaten before he started.

Stop Wallace

► Gov. George Wallace, the third man, is inspiring something less than enthusiasm among Southern conservatives here. The expected nomination of Sen. Barry Goldwater for President at next week's Republican convention may bring a latent anti-Wallace cabal out into the open.

Wallace has publicly stated that he hopes to get on the ballot in at least 20, possibly as many as 30 states. The nomination of Goldwater, it is assumed, would effectively diminish Wallace's backlash appeal outside of the South.

How would he do in the South? Alabama (with 10 electoral votes) is conceded to Wallace—by Sens. John Sparkman and Lister Hill, and probably by Lyndon Johnson, who hasn't even got his name on the ballot. Louisiana (10) could go either way, with Johnson running under the traditional rooster, Wallace under the donkey. Mississippi (7) looks safe for Johnson; Sen. James Eastland recently said that he plans to "go down the line for Lyndon."

Elsewhere in the South, the Wallace movement is getting nowhere. South Carolina, which went for Strom Thurmond in 1948, is quietly blocking Wallace's place on the ticket, with significant silence from Thurmond. Sen. Richard Russell, facing stiff opposition at home from Liberal Gov. Carl Sanders, is playing the same game in Georgia. Sens. Sam Ervin and Everett Jordan will have no qualms about quashing Wallace in North Carolina. (As one Southern senate staffer said of the state, "shucks, that ain't the South. It's one big Atlanta, 'cept worse.") Sen. Harry Byrd of Virginia has not gotten behind the national Democratic ticket since 1932, but it seems unlikely at this point that he will go for Wallace. He likes Goldwater. If an overtly pro-Goldwater movement among Southern Democrats is to take shape, it will be largely Byrd's work; he will not be first to stick his neck out, but he will be behind whoever does.

The Dixiecrat spirit remains. But George Wallace will never fully fire it. Dixiecrats have elephantine memories; they remember that Wallace first ran for governor as a Liberal on the race question; and they remember that Wallace was one of the handful of delegates who stayed behind, loyal to the national ticket, when the South walked out of the 1948 Democratic Convention.

Robert Gene Baker

► It just may be that the Rules Committee, the Senate and the Administration have underestimated the explosive power of the Bobby Baker case. The whole affair was given a ceremonial burial several weeks ago by the Democratic majority in the Rules Committee; the Committee staff has spent plenty of time drafting an "appropriate" report of the hearings. But the word in Washington last week was that Sen. John Williams (R., Del.) and Rep. H. R. Gross (R., Iowa) have got hold of a list of 1,900 names—all carefully indexed and an-

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Special Report

The Role of Communists in San Francisco 'Civil Rights' Agitation

M. M. MORTON

Early this year FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told Congress what many Americans had suspected all along. "Communist influence," said Hoover, "does exist in the Negro movement." Rev. Martin Luther King cried smear and accused the FBI chief of being a tool of racists and right-wingers. But Northern California Communist Party chairman Mickey Lima said, indeed, Communists were in "the forefront." Perhaps Messrs. Hoover and Lima had San Francisco's "civil rights" demonstrations in mind.

The Bay City has been plagued for eight months by five major picketing incidents which have resulted in trespassing, contempt of court, journalistic dereliction, public confusion, managerial surrender, and mass arrests. About 800 arrests have been made, involving 500 persons. The disorders were mounted by a coalition of civil rights groups, of which only three are important. The NAACP emerges as the moderate group with the least infiltration and the best manners. CORE is aggressive, virtually memberless, and feeds on its publicity. It has one campaign ribbon for a destructive "shop-in" that brought a supermarket chain to its knees, and it is now trying for a poison oak leaf cluster at the Bank of America.

To find Communist influence, however, Rev. King should look especially hard at the third group, the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination. In all demonstrations it is the Ad Hoc Committee that provides the demonstrators, the limp bodies. In March, the Ad Hoc Committee made its blackest headlines when for two weekends it harassed the Sheraton-Palace Hotel, sending hordes of unwashed chanters into the lobby. A careful observer would have thought he was watching a re-run of *Operation Abolition*. Through the crowds milled Communists and fellow travelers. On one occasion there were enough Communists "just observing" the lobby scene to have enabled the Northern California district of the CP to hold a convention.

The Ad Hoc Committee is composed of various pro-Communist youth and propaganda outfits from around the Bay, the major influence being exerted by the DuBois Clubs, Marxist-Leninist action groups. Ad Hoc Committee leader Tracy Sims was a guest of honor last January at the anniversary dinner of the *People's World*, West Coast Communist weekly. She is assisted by Mike Myerson, who is best remembered, however, for his part in running the "American" delegation to the 1962 Communist World Youth Festival at Helsinki.

The cadres of the DuBois Clubs, and therefore the Ad Hoc Committee, are trained at a little-known Marxist academy, the San Francisco School of Social Science, located in a building owned by attorney and tireless Communist fellow traveler Vincent Hallinan. The school is run by a son, Terence Hallinan, and faculty members include former *Worker* Moscow correspondent John Pittman, former Castro employee J. P. Morray, and identified Communists (under oath) Holland Roberts, Irving Fromer, James Forest, and William Mandel (Mr. Sunglasses of *Operation Abolition*). Tracy Sims is a student there.

On Record

Rev. King should examine the records of the 500 arrested. More than 200 have significant records in the CP, its fronts, or related activities. Intelligence agencies now know that at least eleven of those arrested are current CP members. Seventy-five of those arrested have Communist front records and, most important, 55 arrested demonstrators are the sons and daughters of long-time CP members. Some of the biggest names in American Communism are involved: the daughters of Mickey Lima, Joseph North, Herbert Aptheker, Louis Goldblatt, William Mandel, the sons of Mike Gold, Joseph Starobin, Frank Wilkinson and Albert E. Kahn. Two leaders, Marco Schneck and Beverly Radcliffe, declined to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities about the Communist Youth Commission. One girl has ties leading into central Europe and Herman Field, of the espionage Fields. Communist Irving Fromer, arrested once, turns up with his pupils in almost every picket line. A dozen youths have records of unsanctioned trips to Cuba, thirteen went to the Communist World Youth Festival at Helsinki, six were arrested in the 1960 City Hall riots, among them Hallinan's wife and sons.

Public patience has worn thin. The sit-ins thought mass arrests would preclude court trials, but despite the million dollar cost, they are going to trial, are being convicted, are being fined, and are going to jail. The newspapers have evaded their responsibilities, but Hearst paper editors are now less timid about exposés. Bishop James A. Pike, true to form, got on both sides. He let Tracy Sims use his church platform for propagandizing, but after public opinion jelled, Pike denounced sit-ins as "unjustified."

Two events bear close watching. In mid-June San Francisco was the site of a convention called by Terence Hallinan, to found a new national "socialist youth organization." Signing the call to the convention were Tracy Sims, Mike Myerson, some Eastern CORE leaders, and representatives of such exposed Communist youth enterprises as Advance, Progressive Youth Organizing Committee and *New Horizons for Youth*. The child of this convention can only bear resemblance to the parent with the dominant genes—the Communist youth movement.

Looming into sight of the crosshairs is perhaps the ultimate target, for which all the demonstrations have been just dress rehearsals—the Republican National Convention. Stall-ins on three bridges spanning the Bay have gone through planning stages, and there is open talk of other disruptive mass demonstrations at the Cow Palace.

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A Religious 'Right' to Violate the Law?

Mr. Herberg finds no authority in the Christian tradition for the doctrine of civil disobedience as now propounded by the Rev. Martin Luther King

WILL HERBERG

Early last month, Yale University conferred the degree LL.D. upon Martin Luther King, who had already been celebrated on the cover of *Time* Magazine. True enough, nowadays the LL.D., *legum doctor,* doctor of laws (both canon and civil), no longer implies any special distinction in jurisprudence or legal learning; but it does imply a moral and social distinction which sets off its recipient as a man of intelligence, eminence, and respectability, a force in society and a leader of men—and this Dr. Martin Luther King certainly is. Dr. King is also a Christian, and sees the movement he leads as a Christian movement, grounded in Christian teachings.

It is therefore of considerable interest to inquire a little more closely into Dr. King's notions of political responsibility and social order, particularly into his central contention that Christian principles permit, perhaps even require, the violation of laws the individual conscience may hold to be "unjust." In this contention Dr. King is supported by that other influential Negro Christian leader, the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, who is also a member of the House of Representatives. Here are their words:

> *Dr. Martin Luther King*: "One may well ask, 'How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?' The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are *just* laws and there are *unjust* laws. . . . I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty. . . . is in reality expressing the highest respect for law . . ." ("A Letter From the Birmingham City Jail").
>
> *Rev. Adam Clayton Powell*: "People say it's against the law. What law? And who made them? There is only one great and unbreakable law, and that's the law of God" (recorded Feb. 4, 1964 by NBC-WRC News).

The two are in substantial agreement (Dr. King too derives "just" laws from "the moral law or the law of God"); and, in more or less cautious form, their position is shared by thousands of churchmen, Negro and white, throughout the country. But how does this position square with well-established Christian teaching on government, law, and civil obedience?

St. Paul's Teaching

The essential Christian teaching on government, law, and civil obedience is grounded on that celebrated Chapter XIII of Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which itself reflects earlier Jewish teaching. "Let every one be subject to the governing authorities," the Apostle enjoins. "For there is no authority except from God, and the existing authorities have been ordained by God. Therefore, he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment. . . ." This is balanced in the New Testament by the conviction of Peter and the Apostles, "We must obey God rather than man" (Acts 5:29).

When does loyalty to God come into conflict with obedience to earthly rulers? When earthly rulers are insensate enough (as totalitarian states invariably are) to demand for themselves what is owing only to God—worship and ultimate allegiance. The classical Christian teaching emerges most profoundly perhaps in the writings of St. Augustine, whose position Professor Deane thus summarizes:

> All the laws promulgated by the ruler must be obeyed by all citizens, with the sole exception of laws or commands that run contrary to God's ordinances . . . When Augustine says that God's command overrules [human] laws and customs, it seems clear that he is referring to those commands of God that have been directly revealed to men in the Scriptures, such as the prohibition against idol-worship . . . He does *not* say that if the ruler is unwise or evil, and fails to take the eternal law into account when he frames temporal laws, these laws have no validity, and the subjects have no obligation to obey them; nor does he say that the subjects have a right to determine for themselves, by reference to the natural or eternal law, whether or not such a temporal law is valid and is to be obeyed" (Herbert A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of St. Augustine,* Columbia U.P., 1963, pp. 147, 89, 90; Dr. Deane is professor of government at Columbia).

This, in substance, early became the normative Christian doctrine, stated and restated by Thomas Aquinas, Martin Luther, John Calvin, and every other great moralist and theologian of the Church. It is the standard by which the position advanced by Dr. King and Rep. Powell *as Christian* must be judged; and, judged by that standard, their position permitting the violation of any law disapproved of by the individual conscience as "unjust," must be judged as not Christian at all, but seriously deviant and heretical.

No Early Christian Sit-Ins

The early Christians, under the teaching of the apostles, were enjoined to obey the laws of the state, a pagan state, mind you, whether they held these laws to be just or unjust—just so long as the state (the Emperor) did not claim for itself the worship and allegiance owing only to God. At that point, they knew how to draw the line. But even at that

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point, where they were compelled to disobey, their disobedience was limited to *refusal to participate* in the pagan abominations. The Christian refused, at the risk of life, to take part in the pagan cult, or to sacrifice to the Emperor; he did not set up mass picketing of the temples, or organize sit-ins in the public buildings in which the "blasphemies" (Tertullian) were being performed. Dr. King will get as little support for his position from authoritative Christian practice as from authoritative Christian teaching.

Strange Doctrine

Would it not be well for Dr. King, as a responsible community leader honored with a Doctor of Laws by Yale University, to consider the consequences of his strange doctrine? Every man has his conscience; and if the individual conscience is absolutized (that is, divinized), and made the final judge of laws to be obeyed or disobeyed, nothing but anarchy and the dissolution of the very fabric of government would result. Thousands and thousands of Americans, eminent, respectable, and responsible, are convinced in their conscience

Rev. Adam Clayton Powell

that the new Civil Rights Act is utterly wrong, unjust, and unconstitutional; are they therefore entitled to disobey it, and to organize civil disobedience campaigns to impede its effectuation? Grant this "right" and there would be no law at all, nothing but a clash of "consciences" that could not hope to escape becoming a clash of raw power.[1] Strange as it may seem to Dr. King, the very purpose of government is to make us obey laws of which we do *not* approve, which indeed we may even regard as "unjust." Laws that we approve of, and regard as just, we hardly need much coercion to get us to obey.

In its essential aims, the civil rights movement led by Dr. King is not at all revolutionary: it strives not to subvert and new-model the American system, but to win for the Negro a fair and equal place within it. Its methods, however, and the political philosophy that informs these methods—the deliberate creation of "crisis-packed situations" through systematic civil disobedience—are consistent neither with Christian teaching nor with ordinary political responsibility.[2] Dr. King, the Christian leader, now a Yale Doctor of Laws, might do well to rethink the theological foundations of a doctrine so dubious in its social and political consequences.

1. One important exception must be noted. Under the American system of judicial review, the constitutionality, and therefore the legality, of a law, when challenged, cannot be finally determined until it comes to court; and, very frequently, it cannot come to court until it is somehow violated. Such technical violation for the sake of a *test case* is to be fundamentally distinguished from the mass civil disobedience advocated by Dr. King.

2. The pitch of irresponsibility this kind of thing can lead to is painfully illustrated by the words addressed by that eminently respectable citizen, Adlai E. Stevenson, to the graduating class at Colby College in Maine: "I think especially of the participation of American students in the great struggle to advance civil and human rights in America. Indeed, even a jail sentence is no longer a dishonor, but a proud achievement. Perhaps we are destined to see in this law-loving land people running for office not on their stainless record, but on their prison records."

Career for Liberals: Political Candidate

Now the best preparation for this job is through the development of an honest, firm and responsible attitude
For the platitude;
That is to say, a forthright, calm and positive mentality
For banality;
In short, a robust, keen and unimpeachable psychology
For tautology.
If, on the other hand, you haven't got ability
To stomach much sterility,
I am very much afraid
That as a Liberal political candidate you simply will never make the graid.
You see, the trick is when you're young,
To disconnect your toung
From your brain,
So when fully grown, no matter how inane
Your words become
You'll never know how dome
You are; in fact you'll think yourself with ease
The equal of Demosthenes.
At which point you'll be very ripe
To dish out every kind of tripe,
With full conviction, style and pomp
From Main Street to the City Domp;
In golden tones but pewter idiom
You'll tell your betters that you pidiom.

JOHANNES EFF

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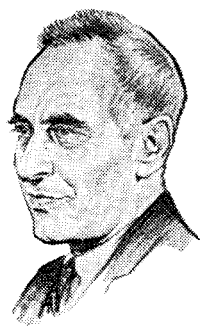
Principles and Heresies

Why Goldwater Can Defeat Johnson

FRANK S. MEYER

THREE times Goldwater has been declared officially dead: after the assassination of President Kennedy, after the New Hampshire primary, and after the Oregon primary. Three times the assembled punditry of press and television, reinforced by the political and intellectual leaders of the Liberal Establishment, have spread the good news through the length and breadth of the country. But, each time, like the fabled phoenix, Goldwater has risen from the ashes to confound the wishful prophets.



Meyer

Now—after California, after the fiasco of the Governors' Conference, and in the light of Scranton's embarrassingly futile campaign—they have changed the timetable again. Death is still the prognosis, but, by and large, Goldwater is begrudgingly granted the nomination; the date of his political demise is advanced to November. Somehow or other he has gotten the delegates, won the crucial primaries, and clinched the nomination; but the same wisdom that three times before has confidently read him out of the running for the Republican nomination, now confidently assures us that Johnson will overwhelmingly defeat him.

All the authorities agree, and while most of them would under all circumstances vote Democratic in November, the crocodile tears they are shedding over the imminent destruction of the Republican Party are copious enough to lift the Times Building and float it from New York to San Francisco. The pollsters agree, too. Unbashed by the abysmal failure of their primary predictions, they are now putting out fantastic projections of the November election, which, if true, would leave Goldwater with few more voters than the readership of NATIONAL REVIEW and a handful of bemused Arizonans.

THE MAN whom Joseph Alsop said in March of this year "no serious Republican politician, even of the most Neanderthal type," takes seriously, is assured of the Republican nomination. The man whom the polls gave 14 and 16 and 18 per cent of the Republican vote has assembled a primary vote substantially greater than Kennedy's in 1960.

The predictions are so wild as to be beneath serious consideration. But their exaggeration does not by itself prove that Goldwater can defeat Johnson. It only means that they must be thoroughly discounted before a serious estimate of Goldwater's chances in November is possible. When we do discount these ideological and emotional red herrings and consider the realities of the American political scene, it becomes obvious that Johnson and the Democratic Party are in serious political difficulties. It becomes equally obvious that Goldwater is the only Republican candidate who can exploit those difficulties and bring victory to the Republican Party in November. To grasp why this is so, it is necessary to consider the basis on which the Liberal Democratic Party has held power for most of the last 32 years. That Liberal reign has rested upon two phenomena, one ideological, the other practical.

It has been based ideologically upon doctrines of unlimited governmental action, collectivist economies, subordination of American sovereignty and appeasement of armed Communism. Practically, it has gained and maintained power by holding together an uneasy alliance, founded on expediency not on principle, between the South, labor, a heterogeneous collection of "minority groups," and the Liberal intelligentsia. Both ideologically and practically the developements of the last half dozen years have sapped these foundations.

Ideologically the dominance of Liberalism has largely depended upon the lack of effective articulate opposition. It has always been instinctively opposed by the broad consensus of the American people—a consensus of belief in limited government, a free economy, freedom of the individual from government supervision, and determined resistance to Communism. But after FDR's Liberal blitz that consensus had few articulate intellectual defenders and it has never been expressed during these years by any Presidential candidate of the Republican Party. In the past few years a strong, intellectually aware conservative movement has arisen to give that consensus a voice; and in the person of Barry Goldwater it has achieved political representation at the highest level.

On the practical level, the emergence of a powerful Republican Party in the South, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, labor's desertion of the Johnson leadership in the Democratic primaries in Lake County (Indiana), Milwaukee and Baltimore, are ominous cracks in the structure of the Democratic alliance. It can be brought crashing to the ground, but not by another "me-too" Republican campaign.

BARRY GOLDWATER, based upon his solid strength in the Midwest, the Mountain States, and the Southwest, can carry the South and eat into the Democratic strength among working men restive under the ideology of their labor bosses and the Liberal Democratic leadership. He can forge a new alliance, transforming the American political map of the last thirty years. That new Republican alliance, which can only be created under his leadership, can defeat Johnson and bring the Republican Party to victory in November. Even more important, it can end the sway of Liberalism and return our country to the principles upon which it was founded—principles which have been its glory before the world, as they have been the foundation of the freedom and prosperity of its citizens.

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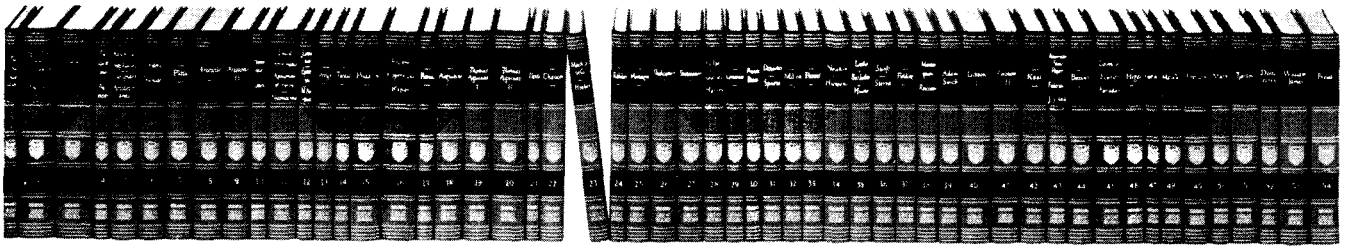
For people who are not ashamed of having brains.



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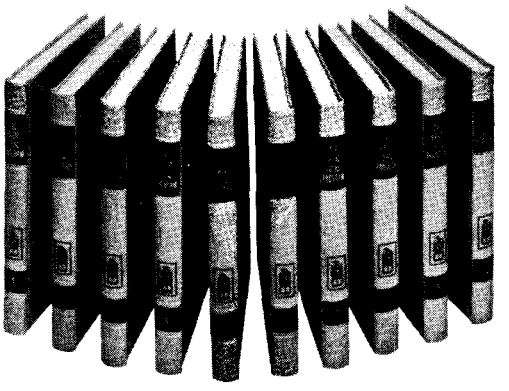

It may not be popular to admit it, but all people aren't created equal. Not with equal intelligence, anyway. And the longer they live (and learn), the less equal they get.

You were probably born with a bigger share of intelligence than most of your fellow men . . . and taught how to use it.

Chances are, the records you own play a more sophisticated brand of music. The books in your library offer more nourishment. The home you live in is equipped for a more gracious way of living.

Most of all you appreciate the difference.

Certainly, you are not ashamed of having brains. You enjoy using them.

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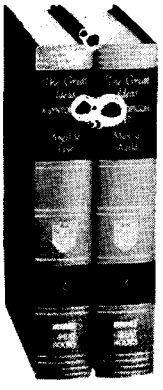

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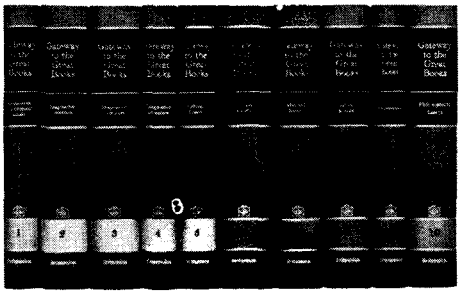

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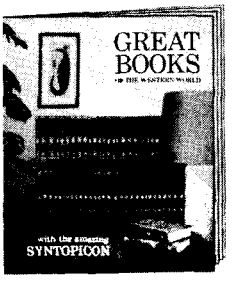

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A Special Supplement

JULY 14, 1964

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

A PROGRAM FOR A GOLDWATER ADMINISTRATION

INTRODUCTION

The long campaign has ended and—we shall assume—it ended with victory for Barry Goldwater, the next President of the United States. Now he will have power. In ten weeks he will be inaugurated. He has until then to formulate his initial working plans for a better country, and a better world.

What should he do? In foreign policy? In domestic affairs? About certain odd-lot problems? What will the atmosphere be like in the intellectual world, thirty-two years after the start of the Roosevelt Revolution, now that the counter-revolution has set in?

National Review herewith addresses the Goldwater Administration, in an attempt to give some idea of what we will be talking about on November 4, lightning having struck. We speak first about foreign affairs, and James Burnham, the noted strategic analyst and political philosopher, advances some proposals to the Goldwater Administration. In domestic affairs we rely on James Jackson Kilpatrick, the earnest student of the Constitution, eloquent editor of the Richmond News Leader, to give form to the new vision for America. And from Pyrrho, master of the fresh insight, we have a set of proposals that deal with largely unexamined national problems: the slightly off-beat problems that confront every President, and often establish the personality of his Administration. Colm Brogan, the well known English scholar and journalist, writes about the meaning of a Goldwater Administration in Europe. And finally, Hugh Kenner, the distinguished critic and author, has a look at the meaning of the end of the affair between the White House and the academy...

Read all about it ahead of time—what may be known in retrospect as the Golden Years.

—The Editors

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Some Proposals to a Goldwater Administration Concerning

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

James Jackson Kilpatrick

"I, Barry Morris Goldwater, do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States . . ."

The assumption of this political causerie is that Mr. Goldwater has won a majority of the electoral college; and that now his high noon approaches. This is the high noon that will mark on January 20 the end of Lyndon Johnson's term in office. For Mr. Goldwater, the period is a time of urgent preparation, a time of beginning, a time of lining up appointments and recasting a federal budget, a time of speeches to be written and people to be seen, a time when there never can be sufficient hours in the day.

"The President," says the Constitution, "shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient."

Following the formation of a Cabinet and the draft of an inaugural address, necessarily to be cast in the eloquent generalities acceptable to a half-frozen audience, this statement on the state of the Union is a primary responsibility. What are the measures, we may ask ourselves, that a President Goldwater would recommend to the Congress as necessary and expedient? And how would he find the state of the Union?

Out of the whole record of Barry Goldwater's speeches, books, Senate votes, newspaper columns, campaign utterances, an exciting pattern emerges; and to this body of personal and public political philosophy, one reasonably may contribute a few specifics and a few generalities as well. Our hypothesis is that Mr. Goldwater has carried a number of Republican Senators and Congressmen into office on his well-tailored coattails, and he is speaking to a newly-formulated 89th Congress that is impressed by his November victory and prepared to listen attentively to doctrines that six or eight months earlier would have been rejected out of hand.

How does the new President find the state of the Union? I should imagine that President Goldwater, an honest man, would find the Union's state both good and ill. The candor of the man, to a political reporter grown old on the light hypocrisies of public servants, is a phenomenon that ranks with galactic theory: one does not comprehend it; but one is staggered by it. The incoming President would remark upon a widespread prosperity, a general sense of national security, a strong foundation of material and spiritual wealth. And I believe he would cheerfully acknowledge all of these assets. But Mr. Goldwater, as President, would want to acknowledge certain other conditions also, and his diagnosis of subtle ailments in the body politic would lead him to the recommendations he would bring to an applauding House and Senate.

How Fares Freedom?

Freedom. I should imagine that this might well be the President's first and most abiding concern. No other theme runs so persistently through Mr. Goldwater's public and private expressions. More than any other leading American of our time, in season and out, as freshman Senator from Arizona and as candidate for President, he has articulated for the Twentieth Century the basic doctrines of the Eighteenth: Life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, the right of every individual to those personal and political freedoms that define the integrity of one man. This has been Mr. Goldwater's peculiar gift, to capture the vision of the ancient wisdom, mystic and intangible and yet vividly real, and to apply it to the perplexities of our own time. *Freedom!* How does freedom fare on this particular high noon?

Not well. Throughout the autumn campaign, President Goldwater will have developed his theme. Freedom does not fare well. The mind calls up great images of the past — the Southern yeoman, the Yankee trader, the wind-burned men who found the West—and the mind turns to their pale counterparts today. Yes, there have been bad times in the past, times of a 60-hour work week, when the laborer's freedom was illusory; times of slavery to a system, times of a grinding poverty. Yet never in the history of this free land has there been a time when the damp and delicate cobwebs of government have clung more tenaciously to man's face and throat.

Lyndon Johnson has denied the charge. He has termed such apprehensions only "phantom fears." Tens of thousands of farmers know better. Non-union men know better. Within the great unions, stubborn men of independent mind know better. Businessmen, employers, traders, college presidents, state legislators, the officials of local governments—all of these, in one fashion or another, have groped with a free hand and encountered the cobwebs instead.

Nibbling Bites

It is not that man is chained; it is nothing so dramatic as that. No man's freedoms have been ruthlessly seized or suddenly blotted out. Probably it would be better for the country if the offense were robbery of our liberties by force and violence and not concealed embezzlement: We should know what had been stolen away; we should miss the vanished treasure; and we should cry out against the thieves. But the tiny, imperceptible, often unavoidable, exquisitely justified, seemingly innocuous nibbling bites at freedom go unnoticed.

So wheat cannot be sold without a wheat certificate? So what? So the school menu calls for surplus cheese? So what's wrong with surplus cheese? So a federal law prescribes the literacy test a State may ask of its own citizens? Anything wrong with that? Not long ago, in Richmond, Virginia, the City Council succumbed to the lure of a federal grant for urban renewal; and after the buildings had been knocked down and bids had been asked for some-

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thing better in their place, the gentle word came from the regional overlords in Philadelphia: Richmond could have the money, but Richmond would have to enact a local housing ordinance prescribed by the FHA, and there would have to be hot water in every dwelling unit, and there would have to be a certain housing advisory committee, and the city's "workable program" would have to be approved by agents of the federal bureaucracy. Seven hundred other communities had agreed to such surrenders of local responsibility, the city fathers were told. Why should Richmond cling to prerogatives so many others had cast aside? The Council of Richmond will have fewer slums; and it will have fewer freedoms, too.

As President, Mr. Goldwater could not reasonably expect to sweep these cobwebs all away. They are woven too securely; they are part of the forest. But more than most men, he could shift the light so the spidery traceries could at least be seen—seen and avoided, or seen and attacked—and he could remind the Congress, and the country too, that the land of the free must be first the home of the brave.

The President's first great theme (and I have barely touched it here) might be freedom; his second might dwell on the federalist scheme. How fares federalism at high noon? Not well; not well at all.

A Federal Republic

The grand design of this Republic called for a central authority of limited powers. That was the whole purpose of Article I of the Constitution, to enumerate the limited and particular powers to be vested in the Congress. All other powers, not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, were to remain with the States respectively, or with the people. The slow corruption of this grand design is the greatest political disaster of our times.

Mr. Goldwater, diagnosing the state of the Union, could not fail to dwell upon a malignancy so widely overlooked. Certain functions of government, for good or ill, were intended to be the States' own business; the States were to experiment, to try new approaches, or to leave it to their people whether particular problems were to be tackled at all. This was the genius of the federal idea; it was part of the vitality of the whole design. But within the federal harem, the States today are merely eunuchs; they are pitiful satellites around a federal sun. Their budgets are geared to federal aid; their highways are built to federal decrees; their programs of domestic welfare revolve obediently about the latest word from HEW. And it is not the Congress alone that trespasses upon the province of the States: The daily *Federal Register* bristles with executive orders that subvert the States; and a dissenting Justice Harlan offers eloquent authority for the Supreme Court's steady march toward that "monolithic society which our federalism rejects."

Fiscal Policy

Freedom and federalism: These would seem to me the great causes that President Goldwater would wish to revitalize. In what necessary and expedient ways would he reach for that goal?

- Fiscal policy would be one area of high concern. By January 20, the budget for 1965-66 will be substantially fixed; the realities are that no incoming President could hope to bring it swiftly into balance. But in fashioning his recommendations, Mr. Goldwater could be expected to delineate a dozen areas in which federal spending could be substantially reduced. The dollar is vital. It sounds crudely materialistic to say so, but the hard truth cannot be forever concealed. Senator Byrd of Virginia, one of the new President's warmest personal friends, patiently has published his detailed "Byrd budgets," and these could provide a knowledgeable blueprint for responsible trimming of federal fat.

In the area of fiscal policy, the President could be expected to turn his attention not only to expenditures, but to revenues also. He would find it both necessary and expedient, we may assume, to recommend a gradual adjustment of progressive rates of taxation on income.

Senator Barry Goldwater

The Marxian theory which holds it proper for the state to take 20 per cent of one man's income, and 90 per cent of his neighbor's, has no place in Mr. Goldwater's catalog of political wisdom. But the chimes of high noon will not signal some wild backward spinning of the clock. The President could urge a start toward equity; he could not in conscience do much less, but he could not in politics do much more.

- Still in the field of federal finance, Mr. Goldwater will wish to propose a thoughtful survey of all the business-type activities in which the central government is engaged. Where could a reasoned and responsible divestiture be recommended? What should private enterprise be doing that the government is not doing half so well? The fertilizer plants of the TVA offer a typical example of the ventures that merit inspection. How in the name of the Ashwander case did the American taxpayer get into the fertilizer business? As President, Mr. Goldwater would compel a re-examination of bad habits, of old lapses, of agencies so long accepted that no one can quite recall just how they all began.
- Freedom is not an only child; its twin is self-reliance. The President could be expected to hammer on this theme in speaking of the Social Security plan. The thought of abolishing present Social Security is both politically and economically preposterous. Mr. Goldwater has said so a hundred times. But the influence of a reoriented White House could be thrown behind the principle of voluntarism in future extensions of this compulsory insurance scheme. It may be true—in any event it no longer is arguable—that Social Security represents a valid exercise of the power vested ambiguously in the Congress "to lay taxes to provide for the general welfare of the United States." So embracive a program, having so long a record of public acceptance, inescapably must be regarded as a part of fixed policy. It does not follow from this that a compulsory plan of "Medicare," hooked to an increase in Social Security taxes, holds an equally sanctified place in the rubrics of social legislation. Skilled actuaries presumably can develop a plan for options, alternatives, waivers, that would leave countless families of independent mind in a position to look after their own hospital bills.
- So, too, in the field of farm policy. Mr. Goldwater has been one the few men high in public life to look realistically at what is happening to the agrarian way of life. In the fifty years

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between 1910 and 1960, rural population declined from 54 per cent to 20 per cent of the nation's total population. In the twenty years between 1940 and 1960, some 2,400,000 farms simply disappeared; and these were mostly the small farms—those of 100 acres or less. "The preservation of family agriculture," one of the commitments of the 1960 Democratic platform, is among those campaign promises that Mr. Goldwater has denounced as mostly a packet of lies. Within another decade, farming promises to be among the most automated industries in the land, and the full-time family farmer, grubbing his existence from a tiny patch of land, will be as scarce as the full-time blacksmith.

Gradualism

The problem here is to evolve public policies that will treat the business of farming simply as the business of farming, and not as some rural counterpart of Aid to Dependent Children. This is not to say that formulation and execution of a sensible new policy is a simple matter, for manifestly it is not. But a gradual reduction in subsidies, and a gradual elimination of various controls, and a carefully phased return toward a free marketplace surely would be among the new President's first objectives.

● The same principles and attitudes could be expected to govern Mr. Goldwater's recommendations in the field of labor policy. During the bitter autumn campaign, the new President will have been accused of wanting to smash labor unions; he will have been attacked, at the very least, as a tyrant and fascist; but once again, as in his previous State campaigns, thousands of union members, in the privacy of the polling booths, will have voted implicit support for the sensible reforms he has urged in the past.

What will he recommend? His purpose would be to achieve new freedoms for all workers, and a better balancing at the bargaining table. One desirable amendment to existing labor law, for example, would make it possible for union members to demand secret votes during a 30-day period prior to a scheduled strike. Such a procedure would not destroy a right to strike; it would subject the exercise of that right to the unintimidated vote of the workers themselves. Other proposals would be designed to curb some of the monopolistic powers of the great unions; to place these powerful empires under substantially the same restrictions, as to partisan political support, that are laid upon the giant corporations; to provide new protection for the individual worker who has been press-ganged into a union shop.

Are such recommendations "anti-union"? Doubtless Mr. Reuther would say so, but whatever warrant Mr. Reuther has to speak for 14,000,000 union members, he has none to speak for the 56,000,000 men and women in the labor force who belong to no union at all. And these Americans, together with a large and inarticulate segment of organized labor itself, could be expected to give massive support to a legislative program intended to root out special privilege and to institute new policies of freedom in the market place.

● Mr. Goldwater's recommendations for necessary and expedient measures in the field of civil rights will surprise no one, North or South, who has followed his record in recent years. In his own fashion, the Arizonan has been as consistent as Humphrey, as consistent as Thurmond. He is actively and emphatically opposed to racial discrimination; and he is actively and emphatically opposed to corruption of the Constitution in a misguided attempt to put an end to social tension. There never has been any more to Mr. Goldwater's position than these two convictions would suggest—nor is there conflict in them. Thus Mr. Goldwater voted for the 1957 civil rights bill and supported the 1960 bill, because both measures seemed to him "appropriate legislation" in the language of the Fifteenth Amendment. These acts were intended to make secure the Negro's unquestioned right to vote. No constitutional barrier appearing, the acts presented an opportunity for valid federal intervention into the fight for equal protection under the law.

Civil Rights 1964

In the case of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Mr. Goldwater's position could not have been made more clear. He found nine of the bill's eleven sections acceptable, but he balked at the key sections on public accommodations and "equal employment." He was convinced that a federal law prohibiting discrimination in a small town soda fountain was beyond the reach of the power vested in Congress to regulate commerce among the States. He was convinced that a proprietor's action in summoning police to eject trespassers from his property should not be treated as a form of the "State action" that is prohibited under the equal protection clause. He felt that the bill's famous Title VII, creating the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, would unwisely extend a federal bureaucracy into areas of personal relationship and property management that should better be left to moral suasion and to State regulation.

Enforcement

As President, Mr. Goldwater will be expected to enforce the 1964 law. The South must understand this. But he also will be expected to exercise some common sense, and to concentrate his attention primarily upon those areas in which the most enduring results may be obtained—in conciliation, persuasion, the judicious exercise of valid federal powers, and in the reasoned influence that could be exerted by a strong man who chose not to be stampeded.

● What else will January 20 bring? The new President might touch upon problems of internal security. He is a staunch anti-Communist, but nothing in his books or public statements suggests a desire for fearsome new legislation in the field. As a reserve general in the Air Force, he is acutely aware of servicemen's problems and servicemen's pay; if he has new spending to recommend, it might well be in the form of a more generous adjustment of military salaries. His recommendations for public works, we may fairly surmise, will be long on river and harbor improvements, national park development, and the construction of needed Federal buildings, but new public power projects have no place in the Goldwater book.

This, it seems to me, offers a fair prophecy of what may be expected when the clock strikes noon. For more than ten years, Mr. Goldwater has been writing, talking, supporting, voting for these ideas of sound government. The marvel is not that he has changed his views now and then—as he changed his mind on the Twenty-second ("two-term") Amendment; the marvel lies in the steel thread of consistency that runs through the body of his work. When James Reston of the *New York Times* complains that no one really knows what Mr. Goldwater means, Mr. Reston tells more of his own inadequacies than he tells of Mr. Goldwater's. The Arizonan has said what he means in words six feet tall; in January, he will say it again.

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Granted the premises earlier stated, what might we expect from the putative recommendations of his state of the Union address? First off, that not all the recommendations would be enacted into law. No President, not even so amiable a man as Barry Goldwater, gets all he asks for. The elementary mathematics of House and Senate make it evident that legislation which approached the "extreme" would run into familiar checks and balances. But some key proposals would get through, because the mood of the country will be right for conservative reform. And the drafting of laws is not the be-all and end-all anyhow. In perhaps the most quoted paragraph of his *Conscience of a Conservative*, Mr. Goldwater wrote that "My aim is not to pass laws, but to repeal them. It is not to inaugurate new programs, but to cancel old ones that do violence to the Constitution, or that have failed in their purpose, or that impose on the people an unwarranted financial burden."

Vitalizing Concepts

What will count, far more than the bills passed or the laws repealed, will be the attitude and instincts up top. The two great vitalizing forces of this Republic have been the concept of freedom and the concept of federalism. In a President Goldwater, the country would find a man determined to set a course toward the greatest possible freedom within the requirements of an ordered society; freedom to buy and freedom to sell, freedom to work, freedom to associate, freedom from petty, nit-picking regimentation. The States and localities, going through the hard transition from rural to urban governments, would find themselves no longer impotent, no longer despised, but respected institutions expected to contribute to solving the problems and reaping the rewards of a cybernetic age.

This is the dream that takes shape in the summer of 1964. It could be shattered, of course, by reckless and irresponsible forces that cannot be minimized: by racists, black and white; by the shrill cacophony of a biased press; by faction and schism within the party. It could be nullified by failure to tell the Goldwater story. If there is peace abroad and prosperity at home, the people's latent conservatism may now be manifested. The premise is that Mr. G. has made it all the way to high noon. The dream comes true after that.

Some Proposals to a Goldwater Administration Concerning

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

James Burnham

History does not permit nations to start over with a clean slate; the weight of the past always presses down on the present, and narrows the possibilities of the future. Taking office after fifty years of war and revolution on a world scale, a Goldwater Administration cannot escape the consequences of the failures and errors, as well as the achievements, of its predecessors. It cannot re-negotiate Yalta, re-instruct the Marshall mission to China or re-fight Korea. It must begin with the inheritance as received in 1965.

This means that the change to a new foreign policy cannot be made by a sudden leap on inauguration day. The shift will be long and gradual, as a new outlook, new goals and men and methods, and, one by one, new applications to specific problems, replace the old.

Foreign policy was conducted during the Kennedy-Johnson Administration along increasingly negative, defeatist, in essence suicidal directions. Concepts of "détente" and "coexistence" disguised underlying attitudes of appeasement and capitulation. Not only did existing Communist dictatorship over a third of mankind come to be looked on as eternal, but each new Communist conquest, whether in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, or the Caribbean, was accepted as an irreversible *fait accompli*. Mobs in Asia, Africa and Latin America have learned that no reprisals follow crimes against American citizens, smashing of American installations or expropriation of American property. Friends have been deserted in order to curry favor with aspiring demagogues and to placate irresponsible majorities in the UN Assembly. Pacifism has been condoned; pacifists, ban-the-bombers and fellow-travelers have been praised from on high and welcomed at the White House. Irrational guilt feelings and groundless fear of "confrontation" and "escalation" have kept the nation's power largely ineffectual. Under the influence of an underlying belief that Western civilization is being engulfed by an inescapable Wave of the Future, the security and interests of the nation and its Western allies have been sacrificed to empty abstractions about "peace," "disarmament," "world opinion" and "world law."

The foreign policy of the Goldwater Administration will in the first place reject this pessimism, negation and defeatism. Though recognizing the profound and unprecedented degree of the world crisis, its outlook will be positive and dynamic: affirming both the ideals and the strength of our country and our civilization, determined to draw on that strength in the service of those ideals, confident that in the end we, not the new barbarians, will master whatever wave the future may send.

National Interest

The primary purpose of the foreign policy of the United States—as of any genuine nation—is to safeguard the national security and advance the national interest. In the circumstances of the contemporary world—with advanced weapons technology and rapid communication and transportation—our national security and interest alike call for a peaceful world order based on a reasonable measure of freedom and justice.

The Communist world enterprise, irrespective of the internecine struggles that periodically afflict it, is irrevocably committed to a protracted conflict for the destruction of all free nations, in particular the United States, and the establishment of a totalitarian system

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based on a Communist monopoly of power. This commitment, which has been openly and frequently stated by the Communist leaders, follows necessarily from their theoretical principles. It is an unavoidable consequence of the institutional differences between the Communist and non-Communist socio-economic organizations. It has been confirmed and re-confirmed by historical experience during the past fifty years.

Neither appeasement nor passive coexistence can counter the Communist threat. For the Communists, seeming coexistence can only be a temporary maneuver designed to gain time, to lull us into a false sense of security and to cover revolutionary operations short of open general war.

Our long-run practical objective can only be: *The reduction of the power of the Communist enterprise to a level from which it can no longer threaten the security of the United States and the peace of the world.* This and this only can remove the continuous possibility of general nuclear war, can assure peace and provide the conditions for freedom. Without this, all the schemes for attaining peace by disarmament, world law, the United Nations, people-to-people exchanges, birth control or what-not are but vanity and illusion.

The Cold War Premises

It follows that what has been called "the Cold War" between the Communist and non-Communist blocs will continue in fact, no matter what our policy and action may be, until we are defeated or the Communist enterprise is substantially weakened. Since we cannot avoid engagement in the Cold War, the only reasonable conclusion is to win it.

The search for a "détente" and a "relaxation of tensions," which became the chief element in the policy of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, can serve, and has in fact served, only to strengthen the Communist enterprise as a whole, to aid it in overcoming its own mistakes and difficulties, and thus to undermine our own relative position in the world power balance. It was the pressure and tensions of the Cold War that aggravated the internal strains and fissures within the Communist bloc which have become conspicuous in the past few years. If we are to exploit these in ways that will produce the maximum disintegrative and weakening effect on the Communist bloc, we must maintain and indeed increase the Cold War pressures. A policy of détente and relaxation presents the Communist leadership with the time and opportunity to resolve their internal conflicts, and to mitigate the social and economic failures that underly them.

- The Goldwater Administation should therefore drop the abortive policy of détente, relaxation and—to call it by its right name—appeasement. Above all, it should abandon the habit of making unilateral concessions to the Soviet Union on the mere hope of future equivalent concessions in return, or of signing bilateral agreements (*e.g.,* on disarmament measures) in which Soviet performance is taken on trust. The rule should be: no concession to any Communist government without a definite and adequate *quid pro quo;* the terms of any agreements with a Communist government to be either self-enforcing or inclusive of provisions for verification of Communist performance.
- Theoretically there is a strong case for a general boycott of the Communist bloc, but the attitudes of our allies, of the neutralist nations and indeed of much of our own business community make this unrealistic. But the practical impossibility of a general boycott should not lead us to abandon the idea of a selective boycott. A selective boycott aims to minimize the military or strategic advantages derived by the Communist bloc from trade with non-Communist nations, and to exert specific strategic or tactical pressures—*e.g.,* to prevent offensive armament of Cuba or to encourage satellite moves toward greater autonomy. Generally speaking, it is trade with the Soviet Union itself that is most likely to be injurious, on net, to the interests of the non-Communist world.

The Captive Nations

- The Goldwater Administration should state its support of the struggle for freedom of all nations and peoples now held captive within the Communist empire, as declared in the Joint Congressional Resolution and Presidential Proclamation instituting "Captive Nations Week."
- It should favor the creation of the much discussed Freedom Academy for the theoretical and practical training of anti-Communist militants for our own and all nations, as proposed in bills that have been for some while before Congress and have been favorably acted on by the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate.
- The Goldwater Administration should proclaim—openly, formally and repeatedly—that the initial pre-conditions for a détente between the United States and the Soviet Union include as a minimum:

1) The withdrawal of all units of the Soviet armed forces—in and out of uniform, or posing as technicians and instructors—behind the 1939 borders;

2) The verified liquidation of Soviet control, direction or support of the Communist world revolutionary apparatus, in whole or in part, and the cessation of Soviet-directed propaganda and related activities now being carried out in subversion of non-Communist governments and furtherance of Communist domination;

3) A free choice of government, and thus of economic system and foreign relations, after adequate domestic preparation and under international supervision, by the peoples of all the territories and nations submitted to de facto Soviet control since 1939.

Détente

- The Goldwater Administration should further declare that with these pre-conditions assured, the United States would be ready to agree to:

1) Rapid, controlled mutual disarmament under inspection satisfactory to both sides;

2) Generous terms for a massive increase of trade;

3) Joint plans for dealing with the aggressive operations of the Chinese Communists and the explosive potential of Chinese Communism;

4) A joint project through which the economically advanced nations would aid the newly developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has affirmed the doctrine that "the first principle of United States foreign policy is support of the UN." There has been a good deal of hypocrisy in this doctrine, since in most major international crises the United States has in truth by-passed the UN. Nearly all serious statesmen and strategists, whether they like or dislike the UN, realize that its role in international affairs has been and must for a very long time be, at best, awkward and limited. Nevertheless, the "UN first" doctrine has had enough influence to handicap the effective conduct of United States foreign policy, in some cases at considerable harm to the national interests.

The UN has proved useful (though not essential) as a kind of holding company for a number of technical and international missions required in the

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modern world—epidemic control, allocation of radio frequencies, ship and aircraft rules, gathering of statistics, exchanges of technical information, handling of certain currency and loan operations, for example. It is a convenient center for discussion and rapid diplomatic communications among the many nations, particularly convenient for the small new nations that do not have the resources for general diplomatic representation. It permits the public airing of international disputes and difficulties, which is sometimes a good thing. In the case of some technical, relief and political tasks, its auspices and facilities have proved more acceptable than those of nations acting individually.

At the same time the UN, by its very nature, is not fitted to keep the peace of the world or to determine wisely and administer justly any supposed "world law." It has become especially disqualified because of the increased role—contrary to the intent of the Charter—of the General Assembly. The one-nation-one-vote Assembly is an altogether unrealistic body, in which a formal majority can be—and often is—constituted by an irresponsible medley of members representing nothing of weight in the scale of literacy, economic development, strategic power, civilization or even numbers. To accept the votes of this chimera as expressing "world opinion" and as legitimately binding on our action means sacrificing our interests and the interests of our civilization to a fiction. Under the influence of the UN-first doctrine this sacrifice has too often been made.

- The Goldwater Administration should continue to support the UN in its legitimate and useful operations. But it should recognize that our foreign policy relies first on our own strength, and in second instance on the Western alliance. And it should make clear that, though we have no objection to Assembly debate on any subject whatever, this nation is not prepared to submit its own basic interests or those of its friends and allies to a majority in the Assembly. Within the Security Council, our delegate should be instructed, if necessary in order to safeguard these interests, to make the use of the veto that the Charter provides.
- In order to help swing the UN internal balance back toward the Security Council and to give its structure a more realistic character in terms of the present world situation, the Goldwater Administration should take under consideration the idea of enlarging the Council membership: with perhaps, Brazil and India added as permanent members possessing the veto, and two additional places allotted to non-permanent members.

Strength at Home

The conduct of our foreign policy rests, first of all, on our own strength; and the most direct expression of our strength is our military establishment. The United States military establishment is at present the most powerful in the world, and the Goldwater Administration must act to make sure it continues to be so in the future.

Under the influence of a purely defensive outlook, and of mythical notions about disarmament and coexistence, the future of our military establishment has been jeopardized, and we have failed to put sufficient stress on some of the forces necessary to a positive and dynamic policy. In the case of modern weapons systems, which require ten, fifteen or more years for development, the problem is critical. A short period of pacifist illusions *now* can mean that ten years from now we may find ourselves outmatched by an enemy breakthrough.

- Among measures for strengthening the present and future military establishment, the Goldwater Administration should propose:

1) Prompt development of a new supersonic manned strategic bomber to supersede our B-52s and B-58s;

2) Construction of one or more moderate-sized nuclear-driven aircraft carriers, designed for patrol duty, show of force, localized wars, etc.;

3) Development of space platforms capable of mounting weapons, as part of a more general program designed to gain military domination of aerospace;

4) Formation and buildup of a Fleet, comparable to the Sixth and Seventh Fleets, assigned to the Indian Ocean;

5) Exercise of the escape clause in the nuclear test ban treaty, to remove the political restriction on possible resumption of military nuclear tests—either underground or with careful control of fallout—if these are judged by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the AEC to be technically necessary in development of anti-missiles and other defensive systems;

6) Lifting of the absolute, politically motivated prohibition on tactical nuclear weapons and certain biological and chemical weapons (*e.g.*, "incapacitating gases") so that military consideration can be given to their use in local wars and revolutions.

The Western alliance ranks next in line to our own strength as basic support to our foreign policy. As a result partly of changed circumstances since the time of its foundation, partly of Gaullist chauvinism and British indecision, and partly of United States subordination of European interests to the détente with Moscow and "third world" demands, NATO and the Western alliance have been gravely weakened.

- The Goldwater Administration must make it an urgent order of business to meet in frank discussion with our allies, with the aim of the reconstruction of the Western alliance. We should be prepared to accept changes in the organization and command structure of NATO that would take into account the revival of Western Europe as well as the decolonization of Asia and Africa. We should indicate our readiness to share nuclear weapons suitable for European defense with our principal allies, and Congress should be asked to modify the laws prohibiting their release. Even more imperatively, we should propose a pooling of European and American scientific and technological talent and resources for research and development of advanced new weapons systems. We should make plain that we are ready to give priority, in general, to our allies' needs and interests when in conflict with the Communist bloc or third world, and that we expect them in return to give priority to ours, and to accept a larger share in the common tasks more in keeping with their present strength.

Beyond NATO, the Goldwater Administration should project the larger ideal of the Atlantic Community, relating the United States and Canada with Britain and all the nations of Western Europe, and ultimately drawing to it the freed nations of Eastern Europe also.

Foreign Aid

Foreign aid in one or another form has been an indispensable instrument of United States foreign policy during this postwar period. There is general agreement by now, however, that the record of the foreign aid program is mixed, and that along with its accomplishments go failures, waste and confusion. A good deal of foreign aid has had no justification from the point of view of the United States, and in not a few cases has harmed rather than benefited the recipient nation. With the

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recovery of Europe and Japan, moreover, a major part of the original foreign aid program has become irrelevant.

• The Goldwater Administration will reject the assumption that the United States Government has some sort of universal obligation to aid other nations. Foreign aid should be judged like other elements of foreign policy: in terms of the security and interests of the United States and its citizens, of our allies and our civilization, and in furtherance of world political conditions that safeguard United States security and interests.

Foreign aid is proper when required by strategic needs of United States or Western defense: military aid in the first instance, and also economic aid in support of the military purpose—as in South Korea, Free China, Spain, South Vietnam, Turkey, etc.

Apart from support of military and strategic requirements, economic aid provided by the United States Government should be judged much more strictly and narrowly than in the past. It is never justified except on a *quid pro quo* basis: unless the United States can expect to gain in return some definite even if indirect or negative benefit. It is more likely, moreover, that foreign aid will prove beneficial to both sides, and will have a better chance of being well adminstered, if it is limited to a relatively few countries than if spread all over the global landscape. Aid should be concentrated, for the most part, on nations characterized by: 1) special strategic importance for the West; 2) governments prepared to operate in harmony with Western policy and interests; 3) local conditions permitting productive use of the aid received.

In the long run the economic development of any nation must come primarily from the hard work, talents and savings of its own people. Insofar as development can be helped from the outside, aid in the form of private investments is far more likely to be productive than governmental aid—which, in point of fact, often hampers or distorts genuine development. The United States Government will therefore do most for the development of the backward nations by striving through its diplomacy to promote political and social conditions favorable to self-help and foreign investment.

• To give dramatic emphasis to this reality, the Goldwater Administration should propose formation of a Free World Economic Development Consortium. Through this Consortium private business corporations of the advanced nations, over and above their individual activities, would pool plans, talents and resources for special projects to further the economic development of the less advanced nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Member corporations would agree to supply initial capital and a certain percentage (*e.g.*, 2 per cent) of their profits to the use of the Consortium. The respective Free World governments would cooperate by giving tax incentives and political support to the Consortium's economic undertakings.

Cuba

Cuba under a Communist regime is an enemy fortress inside our inner strategic frontier, and at the same time an advanced enemy base for the revolutionary subversion of Latin America. This situation poses an intolerable threat. The Cuban Communist regime will not wither away spontaneously. It must be overthrown and replaced. This is the task, fundamentally, of the Cuban people; but from the nature of the Communist rule, supported by the world Communist enterprise, the Cuban people require, as our security demands, the cooperation of the United States.

The Goldwater Administration should undertake to carry out the policy outlined by the Critical Issues Council, headed by Dr. Milton Eisenhower, in its bulletin released May 1: "Cuba — An Effective Policy." Along with reinforcement of measures of boycott, embargo and other forms of economic and political warfare and the encouragement of paramilitary and guerrilla operations, this policy is based on the recognition that: "1) the principal objective of the United States must be the ultimate removal of international Communism from Cuba; 2) the United States must make it clear that it is prepared as a last resort to use military force to remove Communism from Cuba; 3) the United States and the Free World should help to establish a Cuban government-in-exile and should give it necessary financial and military aid."

Southeast Asia

Events in Southeast Asia have reached a stage of acute crisis that confronts the United States with a choice between two very hard alternatives. If the anti-Communist position collapses in the Mekong Valley, the longer term result will be Communist domination, direct or indirect, of all Southeast Asia down through the Philippines and Indonesia to Australia and New Zealand, along with the neutralization of Japan. The Indian sub-continent would be outflanked, and the entire western Pacific would become an alien sea. But the collapsing situation in Laos and South Vietnam has revealed that the Communist advance can be held only by a long and large-scale struggle to which substantial United States force would have to be committed.

The choice may be hidden temporarily under diplomatic formulas about coalition, neutrality and international supervision. But fundamentally it reduces to: the United States must either withdraw from Southeast Asia and accept the global consequences just traced, or intervene with massive force and a strategy freed from many of the restrictions heretofore self-imposed.

Abandonment of Southeast Asia threatens a catastrophic weakening of the world strategic position of the United States and the Western alliance. But it will be impossible to resist the Communist advance indefinitely unless the nations of Southeast Asia are willing to join in the fight against it.

• The Goldwater Administration should therefore initiate at the earliest date a solemn conference at which the threatened and presumptively anti-Communist nations of Southeast Asia and the western Pacific — South Vietnam, Thailand, Free China, Japan, The Philippine Republic, New Zealand and Australia — would meet with the United States and Great Britain (inevitably involved through the Commonwealth). This conference should determine whether the nations of the region are prepared to join in a common defense, on the pledge of adequate direct United States participation.

If the indigenous nations are unwilling to fight in their own defense, then the withdrawal of United States forces from Southeast Asia should proceed as promptly as possible.

If resistance is decided, the anti-Communist war should be transformed in conception as well as scale. The products of advanced weapons technology should be drawn on. The Communists should no longer by allowed the uninterrupted privilege of their North Vietnamese and Chinese sanctuaries.

• The Goldwater Administration, for both strategic and commercial reasons, should undertake construction of a new sea-level canal across Central America

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to supplement the present Panama Canal. Nuclear devices should be used in the construction, not only because their use would be more effective and much cheaper than conventional explosives, but in order to carry out a spectacular demonstration of how nuclear energy can and ought to be put in rapidly increased measure to civilian uses.

The Paramilitary Effort

• The Goldwater Administration, recognizing the nature and preferred methods of the Communist struggle for world power, should carry out a major expansion of psychological and political warfare operations, as well as of guerrilla, paramilitary and other "special forces" units, in order to counter Communist propaganda, infiltration, subversion, terror and related activities, and to win support for Free World objectives. In these operations the United States should work closely with the exile groups from nations now subject to Communist rule or control and, where feasible, with opposition groups or potential opposition groups inside Communist-ruled nations. It should encourage and support the expansion of the efforts of the AFL-CIO to assist anti-Communist labor organizations in Latin America, Asia, Africa and those European nations where Communists are strongly entrenched. The coordinated direction of these political warfare, paramilitary and irregular warfare operations should be at the highest governmental level: that is, directly under the President.

The prospects are, no less, for a reversal of the trend against Western civilization.

Some Proposals to a Goldwater Administration Concerning

ODD-LOT PROBLEMS

Pyrrho

The tough problem a Goldwater Administration will face is that there can be no effective renovation of policy soon. A consensus will emerge slowly—and it is not possible to dismantle the complex fiscal and regulatory structure built up over so many years. When you begin tinkering with $100 billion of annual expenditure, it must be done carefully, prudently, advisedly . . . . A conservative policy probably cannot solidify in four years.

• The Goldwater Administration should strive for means by which to determine the efficiency of a national economic policy. It must bear in mind that political decisions determine the distribution of the national economic product, and apart from the numerous compassionate exceptions, the rule should provide that each citizen be compensated according to his merit. Obviously, this is a counsel of perfection. What the new Administration should be concerned with is a more elastic criterion, viz., that no conspicuously fictitious value be assigned to the contribution of any person or group in the economy. *For example:* the General Service Administration should be assigned the responsibility of relating the functions of any given executive agency to the task it performs with the view of attempting to decide whether the continuation of its operation as a federal function has any meaning other than the generic desire of the federal government to aggrandize itself, or to buy votes from special sectors of the population.

Taxation

• Reform of the tax structure. The income tax with its high progressive rates has been said to be equitable. This contention can be disposed of by reference to salary or wage gradings which require that a disproportionate difference between one rank and another must be maintained or the difference will be canceled out by the effect of the income tax. An extreme case would be the movie star who must receive $1 million for a picture in order to keep an income 10 or 20% higher than a lower ranking star who is given less than half that amount. At the other end of the scale there is the famous case of the British government finding that workers would not work overtime because the effect of the income tax was such as not to make it worthwhile for them to come in for an extra day's work. The additional costs imposed on business by the personal income tax—including the enormous costs due to its infinite complexity—go right into the price system and the differences in net income remain the same as they would be without the tax.

Because the system, with its absurdly progressive rates, is not conveniently workable, it has been much tinkered with. There are some 3,000 loopholes, some of which the Queen Mary could sail through. Excessive reliance on the progressive income tax for government funds is a grave weakness which a Goldwater Administration should eliminate, following patterns successfully established in such countries as West Germany, France, and Japan.

Moon Shot

• The moon-shot operation. This program laid on the spending of $5 billion a year to duplicate a program the military services already had in hand. It is destined to yield very few missiles at a very great cost and will create grave problems for the aerospace industry. It will also result in transferring a large industrial complex into government hands and away from private enterprise. A Goldwater Administration should review the commitment to a moon shot, and dispense with aerospace boondoggling that has no relevance to strategic and military requirements.

• Agriculture. A Goldwater Administration should endorse the program of the Committee for Economic Development, that looks to the gradual elimination of federal subsidies over a six year period. Lands released from marginal farming should be used for recreation and other non-agricultural purposes, and as areas suitable to the decentralization of industry pursuant to the national objective of slowing down the stampede to the nation's metropolitan centers.

• A Goldwater Administration should propose to Congress that it reconceive the federal welfare function pointing toward the day when welfare payments by the federal government should go only to the poorer states—those whose median

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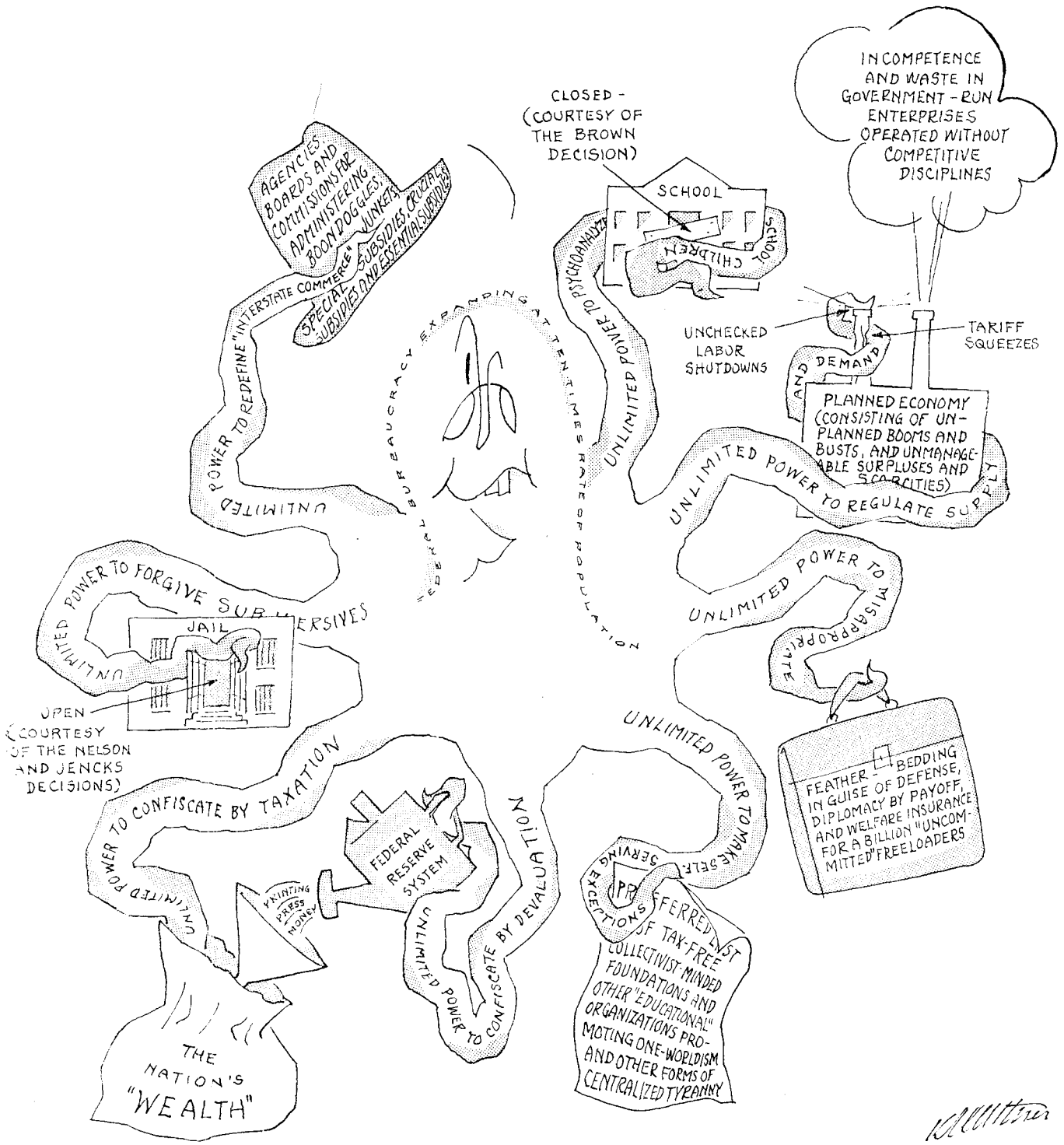
INCOMPETENCE AND WASTE IN GOVERNMENT-RUN ENTERPRISES OPERATED WITHOUT COMPETITIVE DISCIPLINES
CLOSED - (COURTESY OF THE BROWN DECISION)
SCHOOL
SCHOOL CHILDREN
AGENCIES, BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS FOR ADMINISTERING BOONDOGGLES, JUNKETS, SPECIAL SUBSIDIES CRUCIAL TO "INTERSTATE COMMERCE" SUBSIDIES AND ESSENTIAL SUBSIDIES
POWER TO REDEFINE
UNLIMITED
UNLIMITED POWER TO PSYCHOANALYZE
FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY EXPANDING AT TEN TIMES RATE OF POPULATION
UNCHECKED LABOR SHUTDOWNS
TARIFF SQUEEZES
AND DEMAND
PLANNED ECONOMY (CONSISTING OF UNPLANNED BOOMS AND BUSTS, AND UNMANAGEABLE SURPLUSES AND SCARCITIES)
UNLIMITED POWER TO REGULATE SUPPLY
UNLIMITED POWER TO MISAPPROPRIATE
FEATHER-BEDDING IN GUISE OF DEFENSE, DIPLOMACY BY PAYOFF, AND WELFARE INSURANCE FOR A BILLION "UNCOMMITTED" FREELOADERS
UNLIMITED POWER TO FORGIVE SUBVERSIVES
JAIL
UNLIMITED
OPEN (COURTESY OF THE NELSON AND JENCKS DECISIONS)
UNLIMITED POWER TO CONFISCATE BY TAXATION
PRINTING PRESS MONEY
FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM
UNLIMITED POWER TO CONFISCATE BY DEVALUATION
UNLIMITED POWER TO MAKE SELF-SERVING EXCEPTIONS
PREFERRED LIST OF TAX-FREE COLLECTIVIST-MINDED FOUNDATIONS AND OTHER "EDUCATIONAL" ORGANIZATIONS PROMOTING ONE-WORLDISM AND OTHER FORMS OF CENTRALIZED TYRANNY
THE NATION'S "WEALTH"

"Hello, Folks! I represent Limited Government, as advocated by the Non-Socialist Democratic Party and confirmed by the Non-Socialist Republican Party. I say 'Limited,' because I only meddle in local matters where the states refuse to meddle, or where I feel that I can do a better job of meddling than the states are doing!"

income is below the national average. The purpose would be to clarify the meaning of welfare legislation, and avoid such wasteful redundancies as a state's sending money to Washington, there to be re-routed (but only after paying the bureaucracy substantial handling costs) back to the state whence it originally came.

- In accordance with normal insurance practice, social security payments should not be reduced on account of any individual's supplementary earnings.

- A Goldwater Administration should publicly defend the traditional principle of the neighborhood public school.
- The Goldwater Administration should propose suitable legislation to permit voluntary prayers in public institutions.

- A Goldwater Administration should accomplish an orderly liquidation of government agencies and commissions whose functions are increasingly unnecessary, or even obsolete—for instance, the Rural Electrification Agency, the

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Interstate Commerce Commission, and the steam-generating and power transmission facilities of the TVA. Other executive agencies should be consolidated, to eliminate such overlapping and confusion as, for instance, abound in agencies involved in federal housing.

● Urban real estate is a principal inflationary sector. The hazards of inflation in this are probably greater than was the inflation of corporate equities that preceded the 1929 crash. The monetary policy of past administrations is predicated on the doubtful assumption that there is a floor under urban real property values. The result: owners of real estate often have a very thin equity, made possible by federally sanctioned bank policies, which can be quickly eliminated by any modest movement in values, a shift that can occur overnight. The problems of Mr. Zeckendorf of Webb and Knapp are in point and illustrate the danger of riding a thin margin. The government should discourage land speculation by refusing to be a party to easy credit for that purpose by gradually tightening the base for land holdings.

Defense

● Defense administration. The first problem facing a Goldwater Administration will be to reform the administration of defense expenditures so that the nation may be assured that requisite security levels are maintained at reasonable cost.

Despite constantly growing expenditures there is a relatively declining supply of combat units available for those areas where the actual business of war takes place. The question arises why men should be in uniform if they are not expected to fight. If they are just doing a civilian job, why shouldn't competent civilian specialists do the job?

Several sources of the general problem can be summarily identified: a) obsolete installations; b) the practice of owning, not leasing; c) extensive personnel services associated with an obsolete pay scale; and d) inefficient management of supply services. But the overriding problem is the men in our military services.

There are several reasons for a comprehensive re-examination of the duties of military personnel: a) training is more complex and requires physical and operational exercises as well as study; b) the extraneous functions unrelated to combat operations have never been efficiently performed by military men; waste, delay, and obstruction are great; c) officers and combat personnel have long regarded many of these extraneous duties as demeaning, while civilian specialists do not; this makes military service an unnecessary burden, and results in low levels of re-enlistment and high levels of disciplinary actions; d) training costs are excessive, as is the turnover.

The objective should be to: eliminate the inequitable and inefficient compulsory draft and move in the direction of a highly efficient, modern, and mobile professional force.

● Amortization rates on capital equipment. The unrealistic rates laid down by the Treasury handicap U. S. industry in competing successfully with foreign industry. A full scale review of amortization practices is in order, and once again we should take into account the very different policies of some of our principal competitors.

● Federal regulation is a primary source of inflation in many fields, notably tariffs and quotas. The Europeans have correctly charged that there are certain grossly protective U. S. tariffs. Tariff reduction should proceed gradually, in concert with a program aimed at relieving domestic industries of the high cost of doing business as the result of a) excessive taxation; and b) restrictive practices by monopoly unions.

A View of a Goldwater Administration from ABROAD

Colm Brogan

There were people who seriously claimed that the nomination of Barry Goldwater was a threat to the existence of the Atlantic Alliance, that the nomination of Goldwater would do irreparable damage to the American name, and that if the inconceivable worst should happen and Goldwater became President the sunset of Western democracy and civilization would come upon us.

What was the reason for a reaction that was not far short of hysterical? Personal animus played very little part in it. It must be said in fairness that British commentators who have met the Senator freely admitted that he is not the wild fellow he is often made out to be, but a thoroughly honest and agreeable man untainted with self-seeking. In fact, it was Goldwater's fine personal qualities that plunged one commentator into a special despair. He warned his readers that they must not imagine that Goldwater would seek to clinch the nomination by backing away from his declared attitudes, for he would rather lose his delegates than lose his "notions." (His ambivalent attitude to the Senator was neatly underlined by his use of the word "notions." With any other politician he would have used the word "principles," that is to say, if he could really have thought of another politician who did have principles.)

Goldwater won in California, won—so our premises go—at San Francisco, and won in November. That was bad. Indeed, in the words of Milton it was "abominable, unutterable and worse." But what was even more abominable, even worse than worse, was the incontestable fact that if only the lunatic fringe voted for Goldwater then the fringe must be a good deal wider than the bedspread that it fringes.

Plain, ordinary, self-respecting and responsible American citizens had voted in large numbers for the Senator. Why did they do it? Two Americans writing to the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* gave the same depressing reason. They said that they were sickened by the scurvy and ungrateful treatment meted out to the United States and to United States citizens by people who owed their independence to American military

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power and often enough owed a large part of their livelihood to the free gift of American money. These letters were sad. They were the letters of innocence betrayed.

The reason was understandable, though not altogether justified, but it was negative. A man staking his claim for the most important secular office in the Free World (which means the most important office in the whole world), must have something positive to say that will appeal not only to his own countrymen but to the allied nations.

● What will be the likely effect of a Goldwater victory in Britain and in Europe? I believe it will be entirely salutary. If he had won nothing but the nomination, that would itself have been a manifesto to encourage the forces of the Right which are steadily gathering strength, at least in Britain. His general principle on social security is almost exactly the same as the principle enunciated by that well-known Radical Rightist, Winston Churchill, more than ten years ago. There must be a minimum basis below which the poor and helpless must not be allowed to fall, but above that there must be ample opportunity for those who are fully capable of helping themselves, if they are not held down by state restrictions. "Let the money fructify in the pockets of the people." These words of Gladstone were often enough on Winston's lips. From what I know of Senator Goldwater's thinking I presume that he would not disagree.

Welfare

For many years the British Conservative Party was hypnotized by the belief that it would be suicidal to try to stem, much less to try to reverse the swelling tide of Welfare. But the mood is now changing. Increasing general prosperity has made the arguments for indiscriminate handouts even less defensible than they were before, and people are coming to see that benefits distributed without regard to need are not only wasteful but monstrously unjust. Rent restriction is a case in point. For thirty years the tenants of most privately rented property lived cheap at the expense of the luckless owners, many of whom were actually out of pocket. They could not put out the tenants because they enjoyed security of tenure, and they lost heavily if they sold a house with a limpet tenant attached. On the other hand, nearly all of the Town Council house tenants are living cheap at the expense of the tax payers.

The most outspoken critic of this kind of distortion is Enoch Powell, who was Minster of Health under Macmillan but refused to serve under Home. He has bluntly and repeatedly asserted that every interference with the free market is an injustice to somebody and the total of the interferences is an injustice to all. Enoch Powell is the leading critic of indiscriminate Welfare, but he is not alone. In the last year or two, several prominent Ministers have broadly hinted that they believe it is time the Welfare party was over. If the Conservatives are returned, it is a safe bet that their social legislation will have a new look.

A Goldwater victory (and even a Goldwater campaign) would be an enormous encouragement to the gathering forces of the Right in Britain and elsewhere. It would be the occasion for a real debate on real issues, which would make a refreshing change. American example fascinates even the anti-American elements of the British Left, and the debate would be followed with deep interest. Also, the Goldwater campaign would be reported with reasonable fairness and we would get to hear what the Senator really has to say.

The British pundits declared that if Senator Goldwater were nominated, a crushing defeat at the hands of Lyndon Johnson would be inevitable. Not being a Progressive, I do not feel myself either qualified or entitled to pick a President for the American people, but in politics nothing is inevitable. During the War it was taken for granted by all British Socialists and by most British Conservatives that Europe, once liberated, would swing massively and permanently to the Left. All the European governments would be strongly Socialist and no doubt anti-clerical, and the reactionaries both of Church and State would find their last home in the dust bin. In fact, France has had its first Catholic Prime Ministers of the century and both West Germany and Italy have been ruled by Christian parties.

The West German Experience

West Germany gave British Socialists their biggest shock. Ernest Bevin considered it the self-evident duty of the Occupying Powers to prepare for a transfer of authority to trade union leaders who would manifestly be stout Social Democrats. But the union leaders did not want that kind of authority, nor did the West German people want them to have it. In the end, authority was transferred to Adenauer with Dr. Erhard in charge of the economy.

Senator Goldwater has been pityingly described as an eighteenth century gentleman who has strayed accidentally into the present times. Whether this is true or not, it is a fact that Dr. Erhard bears a strange resemblance to that well-known eighteenth century gentleman Adam Smith. He raised his country from ruins by the determined application of the principles of the free market. These principles are described by Socialists as the economics of the jungle; they forget that the jungle is the most fertile place on earth, though admittedly its welfare services are hard to discern.

● Nobody in his senses would expect Goldwater as President to follow the drastic West German example. After all, Dr. Erhard had a free hand because he was building up a ruined country and the United States is not ruined—yet. If a boy riding a bicycle finds he has taken the wrong road he can go back on his tracks by a quick flick of the handle bars, but the President of the United States is not riding a bicycle. He is in command of a huge liner. Barry Goldwater could not and would not make huge immediate changes in the entire social structure of his country. He would inherit from his predecessors a great load of legal and moral obligations that could not be abruptly dropped.

What he could do is install a new philosophy in the White House. He is opposed to appeasement both at home and abroad. He is opposed to placating allegedly underprivileged voters by showering social largesse on them. He is opposed to the pathetic attempt to placate an implacable enemy by making conciliatory gestures. He believes, with MacArthur, that in war there is no substitute for victory. He knows that there is only one fate for a man getting into a fight who has no hope (or *wish*) to do

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more than draw. That fate is defeat, in the long run or in the short.

● His Inaugural Address will give him a superb opportunity to spell out his beliefs in bold simplicity. With all respect to the dead, I considered John F. Kennedy's famous Inaugural a piece of rhetorical tushery. With one hand he pointed to the far frontiers of adventure and selfless service to the nation, but with the other he took the lid off the pork barrel.

An Open Declaration

Goldwater could openly declare his philosophy. *No help should be given except to the helpless,* either at home or abroad. No appeasement of Communism on any issue whatever. He could challenge the idea that the West should listen dutifully to the neutralist nations, whether these nations are real or manufactured. When John Foster Dulles said that neutralism was immoral he went much too far. Did he really expect that Finland should turn militantly anti-Communist, and if it did, what protection could he offer? But it is now the fashionable cant to pretend that neutralism is positively meritorious, as if the neutrals resembled civilized and fastidious people who refused to have any part in an ugly brawl. He could dispose of this nonsense in a few sentences, and all he had to say would be heard over nearly all the world. Once safely installed, he can take modest and prudent first steps in the right direction. As people become used to the revolution in the philosophy of the role of the State, it might be possible to quicken the pace of change, but it might take a generation to undo the damage that more than a generation has done.

● A Goldwater victory will have an electrifying effect in Europe and also in the United Nations. If the Afro-Asians discover that if they do not modify their anti-American bigotries they might have to pay the UN bill themselves, they might well have second thoughts. If Goldwater declares unequivocally that the U.S. will not be pushed around any longer or be abused by so-called friends, he would give to his country a stature commensurate with its strength.

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A View of a Goldwater Administration from THE ACADEMY

Hugh Kenner

Anything, said the assistant professor, is (alas) possible. He was wiping the sweat from his second gin-and-tonic, in a globe of darkness defined by the hum of three mosquitos, and reflecting on the burden and heat of the day which he and his fellow-travaillers had so long and patiently borne, laying block upon block of pure thought, upward to touch Heaven in which one naturally does not believe: at any rate upward. Barbarism will at any moment materialize out of it; for instance this man Goldwater, now President-elect. It was never clear whether, in the event of This Man Goldwater, work on the Topless Edifice would have to be transferred underground, or just suspended until the emergence from roseate clouds of some Deliverer. After a time the gin and tonic got the better of his discourse. His silences were especially anxious. For the experience of thirty years has accustomed American thought-men (academicians, pundits, entrails-searchers) to the sensation of their product being somehow official, and hence invulnerable to mutations of officialdom.

The assistant professor did us all a service. He betrayed by his anxiety the blatant secret to which it is so hard to secure any testimony: not the fact that there is an intellectual establishment, quasi-official, working on selected wavelengths, but the fact that the greenest understrappers think there is, and, by extension, what they think it is like. What the understrappers think is of some moment; half of history is the account of what people *thought* they were doing. Had he no faith in the existence of an establishment, the scholar *qua* scholar would no more care who occupies the White House than who occupies the Akoudship of Swat.

But consider his concerns: 1) The edifice of enlightenment to which he brings the work of his hands is congruent in the hidden heart of the universe with the radiance of that other work of men's hands, the Democratic Party, by the eclipse of which he is naturally saddened. 2) This Man Goldwater is in himself less worrisome than what his election would reveal about the sentiments of too many American voters; and who can give pure devotion to the work of the mind when 51% of his fellow-electors have revealed their mindlessness? (But it was in the Kennedy era, our assistant professor will fondly concede, that the hearts of his sort rode highest; and Kennedy was nudged into office by a bare half of the electorate, even counting as the election officers did the tenants of several thousand Cook County graves.)

The Establishment

No, it's neither the abstract fortunes of the party of De Sapio and Pendergast that worry him, nor any auguries of the electoral nose-count; it's the fortunes of the establishment, in the lower echelons of which he conceives himself to be toiling. He is surrounded, every day, by men, senior to him, for whom economics is an empirical science, *Weltpolitik* is a ballet of disengagement from collective guilt, law is a box of tools for rebuilding society (with a diagram pasted under the lid), literature is the symbolic expression, now of the reforming spirit, now of the malaise which reform would exorcise, history is either a delineation of the inclined plane that runs upward like a Pharaoh's pyramid from mere sand to John Kennedy, or else a series of footnotes to the gospel according to Drew Pearson, and all opinion not answerable to these premises is boobery.

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Every so often, again, such a man locks up his office and enplanes for Washington, there to assist for weeks or years at processes more answerable to his talents than the classroom. Every so often his periodic talk to the League of Women Voters is noted by the promotions committee as a Community Service. He is, moreover, a senior with whom you can have lunch. He speaks your language. You can deplore boobery together.

The assistant professor has, of course, other colleagues, who get asked neither to Washington nor to lunch. They inhabit the ghetto. Everyone, in a chilly way, concedes their eminence; but when did the Treasury last consult Milton Friedman, or the State Department Gerhart Niemeyer? How often does the *New York Times,* so knowledgeable about the Soviet economy, solicit Warren Nutter's opinion about it? You mustn't *say* it's a ghetto; such men do get promoted, and sometimes rapidly, since they tend to stick to their work. Their satellites, though, tend not to; and if you're carving out what self-knowledge whispers is going to be a satellite career, you do well to choose with care your primary body. Besides, the things they believe! Professor Lon Fuller, at the Harvard Law School, is said to profess natural law; fancy wasting the time of legal realists with that! And the late Richard Weaver still thought of rhetoric as one of the civic arts, not having, apparently, heard of Information Theory nor grasped the obsolescences of the first century B.C.

New Faces

Now. What if, following the spin imparted by the electorate to Fortune's wheel, these should be the men who start turning up in Washington? What if Professor Arthur Schlesinger were compelled to stuff The Speech back into its reliquary, having learned that the League of Women Voters chose to hear from Professor Walter Berns instead? What if the regnant expertise on the Soviet economy were to be that of Professor Colin Clark? What if the face in the photograph next to the President's, welcoming a returned ambassador from Vietnam, should be Professor James Burnham's? What difference would it make?

To the assistant professor—no, let's take the rest of the country first; there can't be more than a hundred thousand assistant professors in the land, even counting the departments of mortuary science and creative dance. First of all, what affects the assistant professor affects everybody. He isn't a muscle, like the plumber, but a kind of lesser neuron: part of the national nervous system. The United States is unique among history's great nations in attempting, with considerable success, to operate a civilization without a capital. (Washington isn't a capital like Paris or London; it's where we keep the government.) In place of a capital, from which lines of force radiate like roads, we have a communications network, continent-wide, along which energies pass to and fro. Washington is a plexus on this network, capable of imparting a certain prestigious torque to selected impulses. New York is another. For the rest, it passes mostly through the universities.

The Vulgarizing Instrument

This fact is not widely appreciated, owing to the static generated by the czars of a subsidiary network with more hardware, which passes through TV stations and city desks. But the newscasting network is to the academic one what the vernacular in the sixteenth century was to Latin, an instrument of vulgarizing, for cash, what had originated elsewhere. It is the academic network that characterizes the nation. An Alabaman and a Montanan who have both been to college (any college) have more in common than a Nebraskan who has and a Nebraskan who hasn't. Precisely so, in eighteenth century England, did the distinction fall bewteen Londoners and the rest. Samuel Johnson went up from Litchfield to London, having done time at Oxford. His present-day American counterpart would go to some university and stay there.

It is through the network of professors and alumni—people whose lives have been touched for four years or more by a university—that the shaping ideas travel in America, precisely as they once traveled about Paris: not always definable ideas: a melange of gossip, colorations, judgments, policies, presuppositions, lists of In and Out. Franklin Roosevelt may have been the first President to intuit this fact, though Wilson was the first college president to enter the White House. To start the revolution of the 1930s, Roosevelt plugged Washington into the Academy. The joint promptly jumped. (Two of the four Presidents since FDR have had formal academic connections; an ex-president of Columbia, an Overseer of Harvard. Of the other two, one is acclaimed by the establishment as a student of history, the other for having risen to the heights from a school-house janitorship.)

On Standby

The liaison between the Capital and the Academy is presumably indissoluble, and the academic network in turn is the country's nervous system. And a Goldwater Administration, soliciting the academic advice it would presumably solicit in place of the advice that has been pulsing into Washington for 32 years, would be drawing on reserve circuits the network has kept on standby for three decades. And the net difference to the country would consist not only in what the Administration did with the advice it received, but in the changes of emphasis the new prominence of those standby circuits could effect in the network itself.

And altering, so, the tonality of the entire network, bringing to the public and to the academic ear Chicagoan rather than Keynesian economics, permitting to a George Stigler the visibility hitherto the prerogative of a Galbraith, rendering the thought of Professors Fritz Machlup, Harry Jaffe, and Roger Freeman relevant to newsmagazine punditry, such an Administration would effect not simply a change in the In and Out lists, but a chain of alterations among the hundreds of minor values with which the network irradiates the land: here a dip in the sales of vermouth, there a shift in the stress of conversation, elsewhere a to-the-lay-eye imperceptible alteration in the State U. pecking order.

Which brings us back to the assistant professor, whose life will eventually change also. He will be faced with the advisability of learning what a wholly different set of his colleagues were talking about. And he would wonder immediately why he had not been put to this stress before, during the Republican Interregnum of 1952-60. He might come to realize that whereas Modern Republicanism has no intellectual traditions, Conservative Republicanism has. It was because the '52 change drew on no such traditions that it was barely detectable back on campus at all, aside from the novelties with which it diverted grammar classes. During the Eisenhower years a few ideologues were

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temporarily Out, but no replacements were In. Little changed when Ike succeeded Harry but a personal style, altering the focus of the entertainment we all derive from Washington. In night club and funny paper the golf course and the verbless sentence replaced Hell and a preoccupation with music critics.

Goldwater's support, on the contrary, draws on articulate if long discounted sectors of the academy: on the work of economists, political scientists and historians, professors of literature and government and law, who have been working for decades in explicit opposition to fashion, and sending into the world students a little more sceptical than their peers concerning the transforming magic of ideology. A Goldwater Administration could not help being felt on campus; it would raise to sudden visibility a repressed but tough tradition. And the assistant professor, we were saying, will have to start learning things.

He might begin by learning why he had been taught to clutch his gin and tonic and groan at the prospect of a Know-Nothing regime. The reasons for this, he might learn, turn partly on the disingenuousness of his mentors—who did not stick at representing Jack Kennedy as an intellectual (though Leslie Fiedler accurately describes him as "the very embodiment of middle-brow culture-climbing") or Harry Truman as a student of history (just the man, in fact, to hold seminars at Columbia, as he did in 1959)—and partly on the distinction between a principle and an ideology: between something you observe and something you wield.

An ideology you keep in your pocket, like a calorie chart, and it makes decisions for you. A principle you keep in mind, like a knowledge of the unwisdom of gluttony, and it helps you make decisions. The one is a gadget, the other pervades the moral sense. With the aid of an ideology you rectify the world, seeking what William Carlos Williams called "order that trims off the crab's feelers to make him fit into the box." With the aid of principles you live wisely in the world, where your business is to amend many things without supposing that all problems are soluble. (Political thought, Michael Oakeshott has noted, is defined by the ideologue in terms of problems.) And since the ideologue's slogans, always on the tip of his tongue, have a specious look of clarifying patness ("The true war is against Poverty"; "The chief evil

is Strontium 90") nothing is easier, in his vicinity, than for a man with a conscience instead of a set of singing commercials to be represented as devoid of ideas, or of feelings. In particular the ideologue, who thinks of law as an engine for turning diagrams into realities, delights in hooting at the man who thinks of law as the body of agreement a people lives by; confining discussion to some problem on which he would like to turn that chain-saw of his, he proclaims that his opponent, who doubts whether trees will grow if you cut them down, has nothing practical to suggest.

The Work of Rediscovery

Establishments thrive, of course, on ideology, because an ideology is a proselytizing religion with special appeal for uninformed folk in a hurry, because it provides simple tests for excluding non-establishmentarians, and because, like Kafka's bureaucracy, it gives an unlimited number of hangers-on something to do. What they do, however drab, picks up some gilt by association with the grand themes. (What made *The Liberal Papers* into an Anchor paperback? Or Professor Commager into a ranking historian? Or Susan Sonntag and Jonathan Miller into literary oracles? The distinction of style and the internal coherence by which we say we judge novels?) Installed in the great coiled horn, unremarkable cicadas, once they find the right wave-length, begin booming like bullfrogs.

And how much there is for idle hands to do! There is the whole of human experience to be restructured, and the patient voter to be told, yet again, what he wants (more ideology), and the correlation between Conservatism and Neuroticism could do with a touch more documentation, and as to the proposition that cats have whiskers, has anyone really proved it? Scientifically? Hence the collections of data, and the blinding of common sense by sociology. (The remedy for muggings? More playgrounds.) Above all, facts are wanted, so that they can speak for themselves. The major resource of the establishmentarian, as of the devil, is that he does not exist but merely records. Thus Eve was invited to look at the apple question "objectively."

Having gotten thus far in his painful work of rediscovery, the assistant professor might next realize (it would feel as though his head had exploded) that when a social scientist makes, like Dr. Kinsey, a fetish of objectivity (look at gall-wasps; and at co-eds; and keep counting) it is because he wants you to discard some principal inconvenient to him: not observing, like a sensible person, how the world works, but making, with Cartesian desperation, a disavowal of what he knows already ("prejudice"). Everyone lives in a world, and observes it, except the professional observer; and thought, like the germinating power of grain, is a natural resource.

Tolerance For Taste

But a natural resource is readily turned into a commodity, subject, like all commodities, to monopoly and artificial shortage, to synthesis, adulteration, and simulation. Hence the standard loaf on the establishment's shelves, with vitamins A, D, and a little more A added to a gentle flavored Styrofoam. It floats, too.

But you form a tolerance for the stuff, which at last passes for a taste. And the people who have been for thirty years patiently keeping alive a repressed tradition, continuous with Aristotle, of remembering what persons are and what activities are for: what economic activity is for, what foreign policy is for, what literature (our memory) is for and why we must keep relearning it; in what respects man is a social and a political animal, in what respects he is more; what a wealth there is for the imagination to experience; how great is the extent of what we do not know, but again how much we do know (if we didn't keep making a methodology of ignoring it): well, *they*, if their conclusions ever became fashionable, would compel him to exercise his mind. Which is perhaps what the assistant professor had reason to be worried about.

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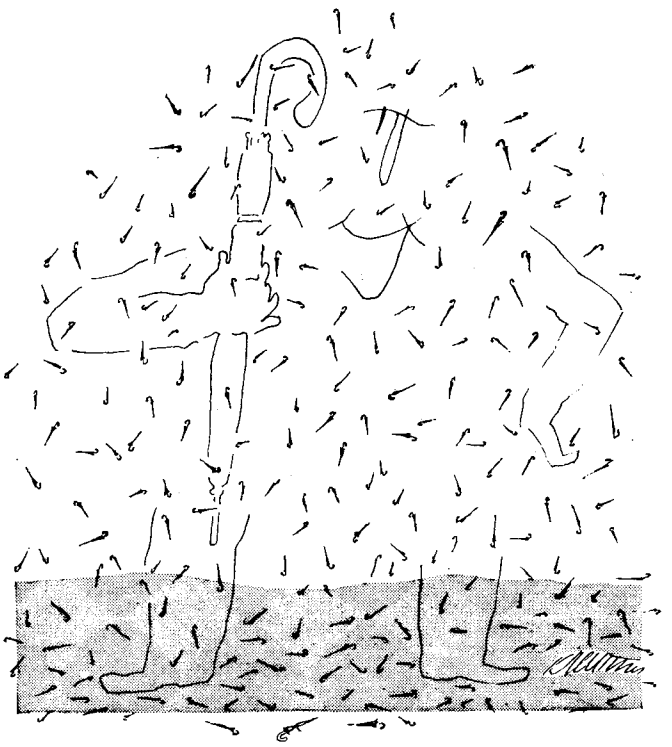
CAPITOL NEWS

.... well blow the town down. Not since Harry Truman cancelled Tom Dewey's White House lease has Washington been as surprised (and stunned) as it was by the result of Tuesday's election. Until early Wednesday morning -- shortly before LBJ conceded defeat -- the man on the street was still refusing to believe his ears. Barry Goldwater couldn't be the next President -- Joseph Alsop and Walter Lippmann and James Reston, Huntley and Brinkley, Severeid, Cronkite, the Messrs. Gallup, Lubell and Harris had said it couldn't be so (and if you can't believe them who can you believe?).... Speculation on just what this means and what houses (with or without air-conditioning and pools) will be available come Jan. 20 is in high gear.... Democrats console themselves with the knowledge that at least two Republicans, Robert McNamara and Douglas Dillon (an Ike cabinet holdover) will go in the anticipated Clean Sweep.... Almost everyone agrees that State Department policy makers W. W. Rostow (let's-be-kinder-to-the-Russians), Arthur Sylvester (management of the news is part of the "arsenal of weaponry") and Harlan (muzzle the military) Cleveland will be high on the January ETD (estimated time of departure) list as well as a few score ambassadors, Bohlen & Bowles among them.... Curiously there's less talk about President-elect Goldwater's Secretary of State, none of the pundits having seriously pondered that question until now.

Harvard is understood to have set up an emergency placement bureau to process second semester appointments as visiting lecturers for a slew of unemployed professors.... Several leading New York publishing houses reportedly are cancelling plans for early January publication of a half dozen books on Johnson's first year in office.

As we went to press there had only been fragmentary comments on Goldwater's upset election victory from Europe. But it was already evident that the hysterical note that characterized European reaction to Goldwater's win in the California primary last June (vide, London Times: "...faintest chance of Goldwater's become President would be enough to shake faith in the maturity and stability of American politics") is missing today.... The Manchester Guardian called upon Senate moderates (Fulbright and Co.) to bury past hostilities and give the benefit of their international expertise to the new President .... France's respected (and consistently anti-American) Le Monde has once again predicted the breakdown of the Atlantic Alliance, pointing out that Mr. Goldwater's policies will be even more at variance with Britain's new government than were those of his predecessor.... Taiwan is frankly jubilant over the news and Free China spokesmen now confidently predict that Red China will once more be barred from admission to the United Nations when the General Assembly convenes a fortnight hence.



"Know what I am? I'm Lippmann Fallout, and I'm deadlier than Nuclear Fallout, because I'm the forgotten (and therefore the irresistible) symbol of What Can't Happen Here!"

Wot happened? Why were the polls so far off base (the election eve estimates ranged from 2 to 5 per cent off)? The answer, according to the pollsters themselves, seems to be that they failed to make adequate soundings among blocks of Democratic voters who for one reason or another jumped party lines.... Particularly significant were the votes of certain white minorities in key Northern and Middle-western industrial cities -- which tipped the scales for Goldwater in Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan and -- surprisingly -- New Jersey. That, plus of course, the bigger than predicted Republican sweep in the South.

Biggest question in Washington: Who will be left, after Jan. 20, to call on Walter Lippmann?

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The Third World War

Whose Opinion is World Opinion?

JAMES BURNHAM

Prominent among the deities on whose altars we modern men are summoned to toss our pinch of incense is the dread goddess, World Opinion. Sometimes She is not unlike to the bogeyman of childhood, who gets us if we don't watch out. We can't send in air cover over the Bay of Pigs, use advanced weapons in Southeast Asia, take steps against violations of the persons and property of our citizens, tell the truth in the United Nations or try to get something for our money, because—World Opinion will get us if we don't watch out.

Then too, She is like our Fairy Godmother who will grant our fondest wish—above all, that supreme wish to be loved—if we are good little boys and girls. Just throw away those naughty bombs and vote with the poor dear nations in the UN and elect soft-headed internationalists and invite Negroes to the country club—and World Opinion will give us a great big kiss and a sugarplum.

It must be said for World Opinion that She has a fast reaction time when She thinks the situation requires it. The polls in California had hardly closed before we learned, through the customary channels, that World Opinion was agape and aghast at the prospect that Goldwater would be the candidate of the Republican Party. World Opinion had denounced the verdict in South Africa's Rivonia trial last month even before it had been rendered—before, indeed, the trial had started.

Clearly, there is no need to take a vote among the earth's three billion inhabitants in order to find out how World Opinion feels; nor even to make, Gallup-wise, a "scientific sampling." We do not have to wait for official statements from the world's governments. All that is necessary is to cast a summary eye over the relevant dispatches and editorials in eight or ten journals: the *Times* of New York, London and New Delhi; *Le Monde, Il Tempo, Economist, L'Express,* for good measure a glance at *Yomiuri, Die Welt,* and *Dagens Nyheter.* Ninety-nine times out of a hundred, you can cut the list down to the three *Times* and take the rest for granted. These will give you the sufficient word, passed on from "unimpeachable sources," "high officials," "UN delegates," "opinion here" and the global "man in the street."

From Myth to Reality

World Opinion, examined empirically, turns out to be a myth created, or transmitted, by a handful of journalists, editorial writers and (let us add) TV commentators. But the fact that She is a creature of mythology does not mean that World Opinion is either meaningless or impotent. A myth gets its strength from our belief. The governing classes of modern society believe passionately in the reality and power of World Opinion, and therefore World Opinion *is* real and powerful. There are different sorts of belief, however: some of us believe passively, submissively, and seek only to please the Goddess and do Her will; others, like those hearty pagans who denounced, bribed, scolded and threatened their gods in order to get satisfactory performance, treat World Opinion more as servant than master: use Her, in fact, as instrument of their own will.

The Communists have long studied World Opinion with Talmudic care and devotion. They have pondered the structure and methods of the newspapers, magazines, broadcasting networks and pulpits through which World Opinion finds public expression; and thought still more deeply about the motives and ideals and assumptions of the men and women who transcribe the words that are accepted as Her voice. They look on World Opinion primarily as an instrument or weapon that can be wielded to their use to divert, seduce or paralyze their enemies. Using the knowledge they have gained, they introduce a unit of directed energy here and there at critical points in the machinery of communication and the minds of the men and women who tend it. Thus they often start the whole apparatus throbbing in harmony with their purpose. Sometimes, in truth, it so throbs as it were spontaneously, without need for deliberate intervention.

World Opinion finds Herself proclaiming that nuclear tests must be stopped, or Chiang or Rhee or Diem ousted, New Guinea ceded to Sukarno or Katanga crushed, Castro accepted or South Africa ostracized, yes, or this man elected and that one blackballed, these criminals freed and those critics sentenced—for World Opinion pokes Her nose into the most intimate domestic affairs.

Fortune Favors . . .

World Opinion, like Machiavelli's Fortune, "is a Woman, and must be Hector's, to keep her under; and 'tis visible every day she suffers herself to be managed by those who are brisk and audacious, rather than by those who are cold and phlegmatic in their Motions, and therefore (like a Woman) she is always a friend to those who . . . attack her with more security and boldness." So reads the record. World Opinion turned friendly to us, in 1950, exactly when our troops began driving the enemy back from the coast of Korea. She held her tongue all through the first day of the Bay of Pigs invasion, and then, when it was seen that we were going to prove not brisk and audacious but cold in our motions, She heaped abuse on us. She was awed and polite —in spite of frantic Communist manipulation—as we drove Arbenz out of Guatemala, but shrill and carping when we permitted ourselves to be pushed around in Panama. We have helped pile at Her all the colonial interests of our allies, regardless of time or context; and She calls *us* "the leader of world imperialism." Today She condemns our action in Southeast Asia, and orders "neutralization." But let us once start winning that war and how quickly Her tune would change! Of Her, as of not a few others of Her sex, the old rule holds: He who asks Her favors will never gain them.

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Letter from the Continent

European Socialists in Evolution

E. v. KUEHNELT LEDDIHN

All over Europe Socialist parties are undergoing a process of gradual evolution. An indicative event, for instance, is the interview recently granted to a reporter of *Figaro* by Señor Tierno Galvan, professor of Public Law at Salamanca University, which revealed very little of interest but was nevertheless significant because given by a member of a Spanish state university. The trial of a group of Spanish Socialists last month produced a verdict of not guilty for 23 of the accused and established legally that to hold socialist views is not a crime according to the Constitution.

Kuehnelt-Leddihn

Spain is still one of the most ideological countries in Europe, though even there a constant "leveling" of the political scene can be observed. On the rest of the Continent this process is much more rapid. The rich are being heavily taxed and the working class is improving its position every year. Socialism as a concrete economic system is becoming increasingly discredited, but the Socialist parties manage to maintain most of their magnetism. Paradoxically, they retain their attraction mainly because they surrender, one after another, the tenets once dear to them. In other words: Europe, once a continent with sharp political, intellectual, and ideological features, is now becoming politically bland.

There are, to be sure, certain exceptions. De Gaulle, for instance, attracts attention in all sorts of quarters because he does not quite fit into the contemporary pattern of general self-effacement. And the possibility that Archduke Otto might return as a private citizen to Austria throws the Austrian Socialists into tantrums because they fear that the last shreds of the slight moral weight the republican system has in Austria would go overboard. (No Austrian, least of all the Archduke, contemplates a monarchical restoration in Austria precisely because the Great Age of Facelessness we live in is basically against it.)

Europe's nations today are in almost every case and in almost every sense political stockholding companies—very aptly referred to by the Latins as *sociétés anonymes*. The great Hungarian writer Francis Mora, in his novel *Song over the Wheatfields*, describes how in a Hungarian village inn, back in 1918, an agitator spoke for the establishment of a republic. "And who would be king in such a republic?" an old peasant wanted to know. "Well, that's just the point—nobody." "Your answer shows what a deceitful windbag you are," the peasant retorted. "Whose head then would you put on the coins? Or do you expect me to accept money without a head, without a face?"

Today we live in a faceless age, afraid of profiles.

Ideological Drainage

The Socialist parties on the Continent are flourishing, but who are their heads? Do they have heads? Men such as their predecessors—Branting, Bebel, Schumacher, Blum, Jaurès, Adler, or Labriola—do not exist. Communism and especially the bestialities of Stalinism have created in many a Socialist party a great horror of extreme leftism (the Italian Nenni group, the PSI, is clearly an exception). The programs of most of the Socialist parties have been watered down to an extent that would have seemed impossible thirty or forty years ago. All evidences of the surviving desire for socialization are explained, by the socialists, as representing the prevailing trend. (How many Christian parties dutifully voted for what amounted to large-scale robberies in 1945-46 precisely because they seemed to be part of the "wave of the future"?)

This process of ideological drainage has resulted not only from the horrors of Russian bolshevism, but also from the unexpected triumph of free enterprise on the Continent and the general high level of prosperity resulting therefrom. Forty years ago an Austrian Social Democrat would have rejected in moral indignation the idea of having a private car, and the Socialist *Arbeiter Zeitung*, forced to inform its curious lower-class readers about events in the sports arena, featured these under the heading "Bourgeois Football," etc. Austrian or German Social Democrats with party badges when hiking in the mountains greeted each other with the somewhat cryptic cry: "Mountain—Free!" This tragi-comic world of Western socialism has now almost vanished.

They Chose Democracy

Yet, it may be gone in one sense but not in another. Labor bosses and Socialist party leaders now are *embourgeoisés* in a rather vulgar fashion. They own cars and villas and while they have abdicated ideologically, they cling to a purely political power which they can retain thanks to the inertia of the masses who go on voting for them. And this because the Socialists manage to impart, more or less successfully, the notion that they represent the royal road to the future; that they stand for modernity, tolerance, progress, social reform. The Socialist is rare who still sports the Red Flag, appeals to Marx, talks openly about class struggle and proletarianism, or insists on abolishing *all* private property. The Socialist parties have been forced to choose between democracy and socialism. They have chosen democracy, but with a most uneasy conscience.

What cannot be disregarded is that in 1945-1948 large sectors of the Socialist parties in the countries overrun by the Red Army rejoined their more orthodox Marxist brethren in popular fronts. What remains to be seen is whether in a genuine emergency (and under real duress) the Socialists will not, like Jack London's dog, listen to the howl of the wolf.

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Open Shop for Lawyers

A young lawyer, informed he cannot practice unless he joins his state bar association, asks how come? And raises an interesting constitutional point

GERALD KAPLAN

After being admitted to practice law in my state last year, I received a hearty letter of congratulations from the president of the state bar association, and then, a few weeks later, a bill for $25, the cost of membership in that group. I was surprised at being billed since I couldn't recall having applied for membership. Of course, I had been so preoccupied with graduating and passing the bar examination that it was possible that I had applied and simply forgotten about it. In any event, it didn't seem very important. Not important at all —until I received a second statement.

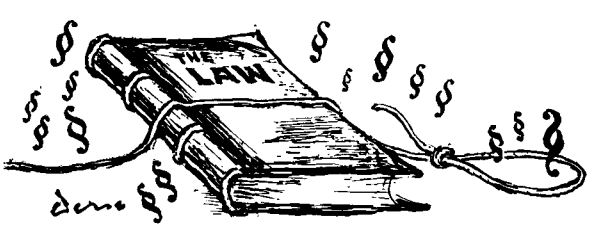
It was then that I learned that unless I gave them the money I couldn't practice law. There was, in practical fact, no decision for me to make; the legislature had already decided that the state bar association would be a good outfit for me to join.

I wasn't so sure. First, twenty-five dollars a year, even today, is not an insignificant sum for a young attorney just beginning practice. Secondly, and more important, I wanted time to think the whole matter over, to weigh the merits and disadvantages of membership. I wanted to contemplate the full implications of membership—for myself, my profession, my community. This, of course, I could not do.

I had to pay up or give up the practice of law. To this dilemma I responded in the most natural way for a lawyer to behave: I reached for my law books.

Freedom from Association

There is very little law on forced membership as the result of state action, and what law does exist is quite recent and quite vague. Nearly three years ago the Supreme Court almost decided a case, *Lathrop* v. *Donohue* (which should have received wide critical comment, but did not), upholding the right of Wisconsin to force unwilling lawyers to join and pay dues to the state bar association, even though that group was engaged in political and propaganda activities. I say the Court "almost decided" the case because no majority could be formed, no decision was reached on the full constitutional questions, and in all five opinions and sixty-five pages were written by nine justices. (One sympathizes with the dissenting justice who confessed indignantly: "I do not believe that either the bench, the bar or the litigants will know what had been decided in this case—certainly I do not.") Nevertheless, despite the Court's verbosity and all-directedness the effect of its non-decision is clear: Lawyers can be compelled (and are now being compelled in 26 states) to join an association of attorneys espousing political views repugnant to them. And that is alarming.



For years it has been customary to praise ideas of freedom *for* association—the liberty of individuals to organize and affiliate with voluntary groups. Now, unhappily enough, as a result of *Lathrop* v. *Donohue,* it is necessary to start talking about freedom *from* association—the right not to join or participate, the right to disaffiliate unrestrained by fear of legal penalty.

Of course, membership in the Wisconsin Bar Association was not always mandatory; for years the Association was, like other groups in our society, a voluntary organization. When in 1943 the state legislature enacted a bill empowering the Wisconsin Supreme Court to compel membership, Governor Goodland vetoed it. Nevertheless, the powers behind compulsory membership were persistent and in 1956 they finally emerged successful, a victory which prompted Lathrop's rebellion and resort to the courts.

The Lathrop Case

The facts of the case are uncomplicated. In early 1959 Trayton Lathrop, a young attorney from Madison, Wisconsin, sued the treasurer of the Wisconsin Bar Association, a Mr. Donohue, for return of his $15 annual dues which he had paid under protest. Lathrop did not believe that government could, under the Constitution, compel him to join and support an organization of attorneys which is authorized and directed to, and in fact does, participate in political and propaganda activities of the most obvious sort. (And young Lathrop was willing to risk his time, energy and funds, and the affection of many of his colleagues, by taking the case to the nation's highest tribunal if necessary.)

At the outset the ritual court dismissed Lathrop's complaint on its merits, and the Wisconsin Supreme Court subsequently affirmed the dismissal. The idea that freedom of association embraces the liberty *not* to associate was shrugged off as "cliché" by the high court. Rather its decision was grounded on the "public need" to secure and publicize "the composite judgment of members of the bar on measures directly affecting the administration of justice and the practice of law"; the premise was that both the public and the legislature

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"are entitled to know" how lawyers stand on such controversies. Thus the benefits the Wisconsin Court envisioned were in large part pressure-group tactics designed to effect legislative policy-making. (It is ironic to note that the remedy adopted—forced membership—does not meet this need. Its consequences extend only to the payment of dues.)

The decision of the United States Supreme Court, as indicated earlier, was incorrigibly divided. One justice held mandatory membership unconstitutional because it established a pattern of "regimentation," one that could logically extend to any group owing "responsibilities to the public." Another felt it wrong to take "the money of protesting lawyers and use it to support causes they are against." Conversely, some justices found Lathrop's contentions "specious" and "trivial." The end result was that the concept of forced membership was placed under a "cloud of unconstitutionality," and, at the same time, the judgment of the Wisconsin Supreme Court was affirmed by default.

Poor Mr. Lathrop. Not only did he lose the case, but he didn't even find out what the Court says the Constitution says.

Why Not Dentists?

Since there was no decision on the constitutional question, the Court could once again confront the identical problems raised by Lathrop. Or, the issue could arise in another context, since there is no apparent reason why dentists, stockbrokers, insurance agents and others can't be made to submit to mandatory political representation. (Indeed, such is already the case for Oklahoma dentists, for whom the "integrated" bar served as a model.) No logical limiting factor looms. How the Supreme Court would decide the next case is no clearer than the opinions in *Lathrop* v. *Donohue,* and those, as indicated above, aren't very clear. Some suggestion as to how the decision should read may, however, be hazarded.

The foremost consideration must be the effect of forced membership on the individual. The thrust of Lathrop's complaint, after all, is against compulsory contributions for causes and candidates opposed by the contributor. It is this element of force—and, judging from Lathrop's own response, the sense of moral outrage of those who have to join and pay—that is the essential grievance. The role of Lathrop, or any other individual who disagrees with the majority, is an uneasy one. It may be difficult for the dissenter to keep silent and keep paying for the propagation of the views he opposes, perhaps abhors. He may see his sense of conscience and personal integrity fleeing. His choice becomes restricted to either resigning membership and forfeiting his profession and livelihood—or speaking out.

And the individual who speaks out must speak in a loud voice if he is to offset the voice of the group which he has been forced to amplify with his dollars. ("Integration" caused the income of the Wisconsin Bar Association to double.) The group voice, by its nature, tends to drown out the individual voice, and to identify the dissenter, in the public eye, with the politics of the group he opposes. As a result of government, his position is unenviable, fraught with hardship, both moral and economic.

The public that hears the group voice is as badly off as the unwilling member. First, it is deceived by the force and persistence of the sound it hears. The will of what may be a mere majority is expressed as the will of all. The public sees unanimity of purpose, never dissension and discord.

Secondly, the voices of other groups, competing with the "integrated" group for public favor and legislative bounty, are diminished. These competing groups will have to act more vigorously and will need more money in order successfully to maintain, let alone improve, their position. (The felt weakness of bar associations as lobbyists was the major reason behind the movement toward forced membership.) Thus bar association objectives, to the extent they are attained, are often purchased at the expense of competing associations which do not possess the benefits of compulsory membership. It seems rather clear that the public has a "right to know" the "collective judgment" of the bar *only* to the extent that the group reflects membership thinking, and that legislation which enables the bar disproportionately to influence the public is mischievous. (Conceivably, other groups will alleviate the burden of competition by also procuring enactments making membership mandatory. In that event, the trend toward "the guild society" has truly commenced.)

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (June 30)

Ben Moreell
GOVERNMENT AND MORAL LAW

Just as I individually have no moral right to take from my neighbor that which is rightfully his, just so do I lack a moral right to vote to have my government do the same thing in the name of a subsidy or any other type of material benefit to myself or others of my choosing.

Protect the Dissenter

Although the individual, the public, and the competing interest groups are hurt as a result of "integration" of the bar, the bar itself would suffer little if it were denied the funds of those who objected to its political program. The striking propensity of the American people to create private organizations as the means of fulfilling social, economic, political and religious needs has been commented upon often; indeed, this nation has been characterized as a nation of joiners. It would seem, therefore, that individuals—members of bar associations, unions, or any other group—would *voluntarily* support the group because the group helps them. To the extent the group mirrors membership desires, to that extent will funds be forthcoming. Group ambitions wouldn't be substantially retarded by the few who resist what the many consider their best interests; the many may and will speak through the group, whether or not the few are also compelled to speak. And the slight injury the group may endure seems but a small burden to bear when viewed against the backdrop of the wrong done to the dissenter, the listening public, and the competing interest groups.

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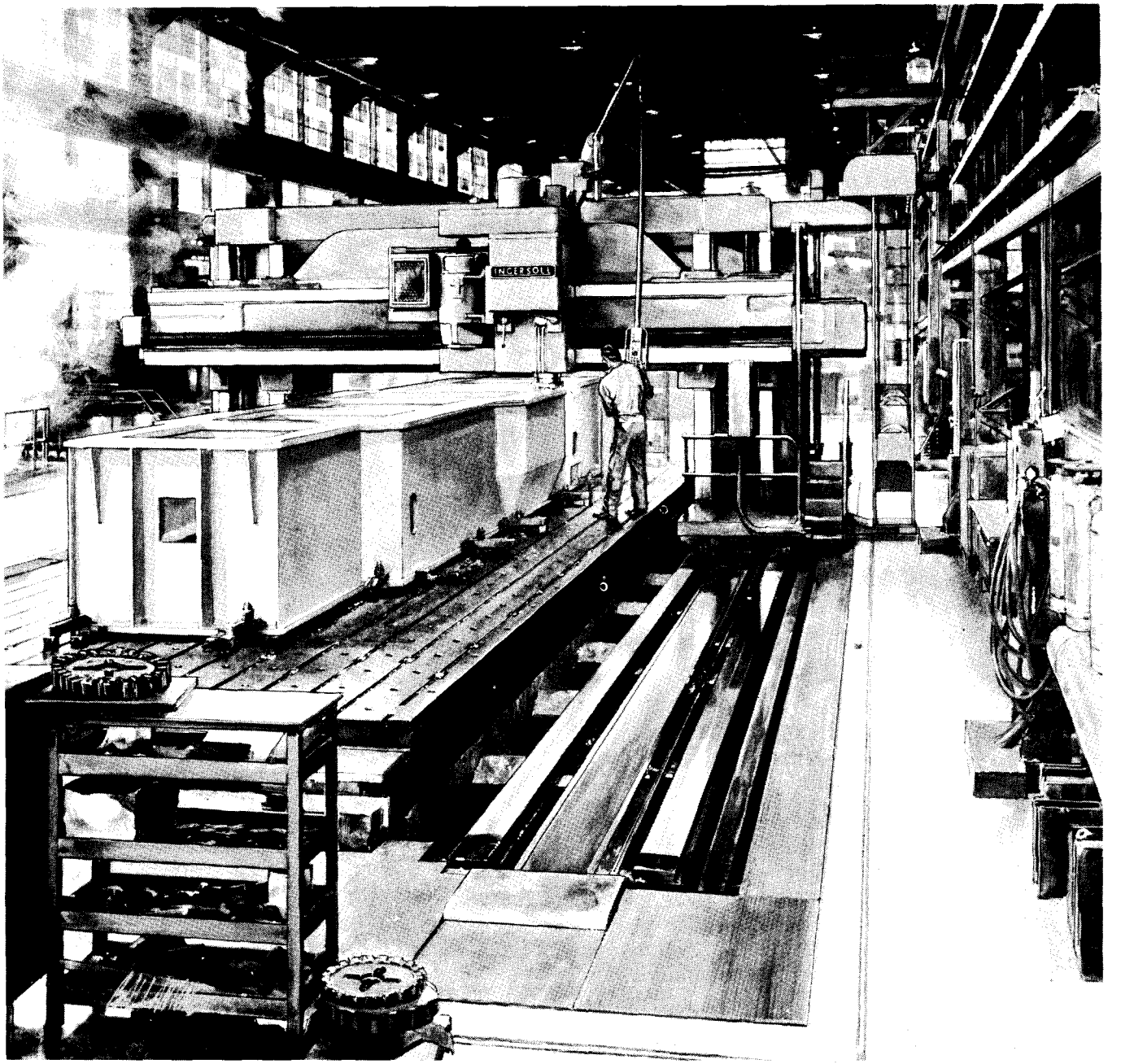

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Little Academic Tyrants

If, gentle reader, you have happened to glance within the covers of my book *Academic Freedom*—a topic concerning which I sometimes differ with the editor-in-chief of this magazine—you may be aware that I think the academy cannot perform its function without a high degree of freedom. And though this body of privileges that we call academic freedom pertains especially to professors, students also should not be excluded from certain academic rights.

Kirk

In particular, the student has a right to a certain professorial toleration of the student's private opinions; and a right to receive genuine instruction in a discipline, not to be the victim of secular indoctrination. But certain academic gentlemen behave as squalid oligarchs, gauleiters of the classroom, whenever they discover a student who dares dissent, even silently, from their own secular dogmas. I offer a few instances.

A girl sophomore at an Ohio college recently suffered under a female instructor in English—who, rather than concerning herself with composition and literature, "constantly talks about current political events, especially about integration and especially about Barry Goldwater." Recently this impartial scholar required each student to write an essay on the subject "Why I believe Barry Goldwater would be a Poor President." No dissent allowed. It is quite clear that if one wishes to pass this course, one hates Senator Goldwater.

At a Middlewestern state university, a girl junior found herself in the class of an intense and neurotic young sociologist whose especial passion was the rights of colored people. Everybody, he constantly asserted, is just like everybody else, or maybe a little better. The student wrote a paper touching on the difficulty of effecting an immediate material improvement in the condition of urban Negroes. But the instructor, enraged at encountering the faintest doubt of his secular creed, covered her paper with outraged and outrageous denunciations—and gave her the grade of "F." All students of his have perfect equality and freedom—equality in servile condition, and freedom to agree utterly with the instructor.

From a Californian state college, one of the most brilliant freshmen I ever have encountered—a scholar and a gentleman, at the age of seventeen, especially well-read in theology and philosophy—writes:

"I received a D in a philosophy test because I dared attack Dewey. I merely said that 'social growth' was what the Red Chinese had in mind when they practiced public torture in Tibet. I learned that 'John Dewey was a humanitarian!'—if only more people would read Richard Weaver—and that my professor was a great admirer of progressivism. I am chastized—I should have known better." There's no God but Dewey, you know.

Naming Names

The following case concerns myself, and so I name you names.

Florida Presbyterian College, at St. Petersburg, is a most promising new institution with a good lecture-series. Some months ago I spoke to the student body there about the recovery of norms. In passing, I mentioned that the primary function of the scholar is to convey to the rising generation the filtered wisdom of our ancestors, our cultural heritage. Few assumptions, I thought, could be more nearly self-evident.

But these observations were anathema to the college chaplain, a Reverend Alan Carlsten, who apparently believes that everything ought to be torn up by the roots. Although fairly quiet in my presence, after I had departed this reverend gentleman, fearing that his students might be contaminated by orthodoxy, took it upon himself to brainwash them in a sermon. I quote from Mr. Carlsten's tolerant and charitable address *ex cathedra:*

> Last week we were introduced to an unusual view of the intellectual world. As you will recall, a "true intellectual" is "a conservator of the past," according to Mr. Russell Kirk. What he conserves are standards or norms. I think Mr. Kirk weaseled a bit on this point. I suspect that what he really thinks ought to be conserved are not norms or standards but absolutes.
>
> I think most you also recognize that this view was a parody or a caricature of intellectual experience. . . . But what was discomforting to me about Mr. Kirk's lecture was not his circular reasoning nor his scholarly vagaries, which were discomforting enough, but his attempt to relate the Christian faith to his ultra-conservative position. This was somehow supposed to resemble the Christian ethical position. But the Gospel has survived its friends and its enemies, and I take it that it will continue to do so.

I do hope these poor imperiled students are straightened out by Mr. Carlsten, and won't have to judge for themselves in future. When, incidentally, the *Presbyterian Journal* reported Mr. Carlsten's remarks in part, he threatened to sue that publication! Although Mr. Carlsten's talk was sufficiently shallow to embarass anyone when seen in print, apparently Mr. Carlsten knows no more about the laws of literary property, or about freedom of the press, than he does about the sources of normality. Also the editor of the *Presbyterian Journal* had ventured to disagree, civilly, with Mr. Carlsten—and Mr. Carlsten isn't used to that.

Well, I advise any student who is genuinely subjected to academic intimidation to report the matter to departmental head, dean, or president. For students do have rights, both contractual and natural. And most presidents, deans, and departmental chairmen, like most professors, retain some sense of fair play. The ideologues are a minority in the academy, but they are a shabby crew.

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FALL & WINTER 1964

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BUCKLEY

(Continued from p. 576)

a passenger desires pepper on his salami. There are plenty of rules against intoxication aboard airlines, and I am in favor of all of them. But a drink before dinner is to intoxication, as ownership of a car is to reckless driving, or ownership of a gun to homicide: it is downright perverse and misanthropic to assume the inevitablility of the latter, from freedom of the former: and I for one personally pledge to remove myself, on such occasions as I am by the Civil Aeronautics Board given the choice, from exposure to the creeping Big Brotherhood of that insufferably paternalistic common carrier. When I am told what I may or may not do which strictly concerns myself, I expect the instructions to issue not from a commercial carrier, but from my jailer: whose profits I shall not voluntarily contribute to.

Nominations for entries in the What-Bugs-Me Department are willingly received, subject to the aforementioned limitations, at 150 East 35 Street, New York 16, N.Y. Do not miss the opportunity, in the course of mailing them, to tell your postman that thanks to the bureaucratic mess in Washington, of which he is the unwitting agent, you seriously doubt whether your letter will ever reach its melancholy destination.

FROM WASHINGTON STRAIGHT

(Continued from p. 577)

notated by one Mrs. Jeanette Park. Mrs. Park is a former Maryland call girl, now awaiting sentence for murder.

Either Williams or Gross, or both, plan to do something about the list, or they would not have permitted leakage of the list's fascinating contents: at least one congressman, one former congressman, two well-known professional baseball players, entertainers, members of three Asian embassies, and, least surprising, Mr. Joseph Fanianich are on it. "Joe Fabian," a convicted white slaver, popped up persistently during the Baker hearings; Baker took the Fifth when asked about his acquaintance with him. The news of the list got everyone to tippy-toeing around the Capitol.

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Computerized Convention?

M. STANTON EVANS

If any work of fiction stands much chance of getting itself read in these days before the national political conventions, Professor Eugene Burdick's new novel would seem to be an obvious choice. The book is about a struggle for the GOP Presidential nomination, about Liberals and conservatives, and about the secrets of political legerdemain. The names Goldwater, Rockefeller, Johnson, *et al.*, appear repeatedly throughout its pages. And the central theme is to assert the claims of personality against the pressures and mechanisms of mass society.

Mr. Burdick, it appears, is well on his way to becoming the Vance Packard of fiction. His specialty is the novel of cultural protest, set in the technical-political circumstances of modern America. His previous efforts include co-authorship of *The Ugly American* and *Fail-Safe*, the first concerning the tribulations of a dedicated U.S. citizen toiling for country and humanity in Southeast Asia, the second about the dangers of war through technological misfire in America's air defense system.

The 480 combines elements of both its predecessors, taking the Southeast Asian worker out of the jungle and putting him into the banquet room, and transferring the technical gimcrackery from the sphere of military defense to that of political aggression. The counterpart of the ugly American is an angry saint named John Thatch, who immortalizes himself in the rain forests by reconciling Hindus to Pakistanis and dismantling a Communist guerrilla movement single-handed. These acts bring him to the attention of IBM mechanics and professional pols seeking a Republican candidate for 1964. The tension of the novel, such as it is, results from the conflict between Thatch and the hard-eyed maestros of the computer.

The 480, by Eugene Burdick. McGraw-Hill, $5.00

The Mad Avenue set wants to run Thatch for President by tailoring his campaign utterances to the findings of data-shufflers who have broken the electorate down into 480 categories according to religious belief, geographical region, income level, party affiliation, and so forth (hence the title). If group 437 wants medicare and high tariffs, then that is the program group 437 is led to believe the candidate favors. The admirable Thatch wants no part of it.

In selecting his theme, Professor Burdick has certainly chosen as his target one of the most ominous developments in American political life. It is fact, not fiction, that Presidential candidates are being manufactured in precisely this way—the 1960 bid of the late President Kennedy supplying, as Burdick notes, the most obvious example. Poll results and IBM computations could well eliminate whatever vestige of principle our politics has left to it. Telling the people what they supposedly want to hear is common enough, but the 480 technique and its variants reduce an already unsavory practice to the level of subhuman mechanism. If a computer is to determine the views of the candidate, the next logical step would seem to be to elect the machine instead of the man who is fronting for it.

FORTUNATELY, the American people are somewhat less predictable than the poll-taking determinists have led themselves to believe. Burdick's novel becomes the more apposite because we have so lately witnessed the pollsters' embarrassment in New Hampshire and Oregon and California. Politics, thankfully, cannot be reduced to an exact science, and the electorate is not the pliable blob of protoplasm which some commentators seem to think it is.

While we may congratulate author Burdick on his intention, enthusiasm for the actual performance comes harder. He is an entertaining writer, but the literary resolution of his theme is unsuccessful. At the dénouement, it is not altogether certain who has triumphed over whom. Thatch is tempted by the dream of becoming President; belatedly learns he has been promoted by dishonorable means; rebels, weakens, and recovers at the decisive moment. But the end of the book is a Pollyanna business in which Thatch, radiating strength and dynamism, is well on his way to becoming President—incidentally reaping all the benefits of 480 machinations which have served to advance his candidacy. It is not quite clear, in short, that the 480 crowd has been either wrong or repudiated.

Nor is the novel more satisfying at subsidiary levels. Books of this type depend for their effect on technical verisimilitude, on the feel of time and place correctly captured. As in *Fail-Safe*, however, the author does not have this aspect of his subject well enough in hand. He seems to know his computers, but his politicians are unreal. They tend toward stereotype and a woodenness which is not alleviated by quirks of ignorance of which no real politician would be guilty. Part of the master strategy for electing Thatch, for example, is to achieve a large write-in vote in the California primary—where no write-ins are allowed. This odd notion is altered in the last part of the book, as if the author (himself a California resident) had belatedly discovered the facts of the matter. But as late as page 249, the novel's principal cigar-chomping "pro" is saying things like, "If you could keep

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your campaign out of sight and get a big write-in in the California primary. . . ."

There are other such touches suggesting that the author is out of his field—*e.g.*, a musing reference by the same pro to one "Chuck" McWhorter as an assistant to Richard Nixon. The gentleman's name is indeed Charles McWhorter, but the nickname by which he is known is Charlie, not Chuck. A small point, but the kind of thing which is intended to convey an atmosphere of inside-dopesterism and winds up doing the opposite. Equally hostile to the willing suspension of disbelief is Burdick's pageant of Republican strategists who cite Gunnar Myrdal and excitedly quote Walter Lippmann and Theodore White to each other. It is a weird GOP which the author has conjured up for us.

THIS points to what is perhaps the greatest weakness of the book. The author's own ingrained Liberalism is so deep that he cannot get outside the system he criticizes to find out what is really wrong with it. Computer-worship is not wrong because machines are employed to find out what people think, but because the men using the machines have no principles to begin with and are trying to automate their yen for opportunism. That Burdick's critique does not penetrate this far may be gathered from the fact that his own idea of Republican high-mindedness is a further approximation of the GOP to its Democratic adversary. It is this philosophy of drift that makes the computer ethic inevitable; if there is no distinction between the parties, politics becomes a matter of which can better determine what the people want and most attractively promise it to them.

It is no secret that the one Presidential aspirant in America who has refused to play this game is Senator Barry Goldwater. This year's real showdown at San Francisco offers precisely the sort of confrontation Mr. Burdick's novel hints at but does not provide—the computerized, poll-shaped forces of Rockefeller-Scranton-Romney *versus* the candidate who knows what he thinks without consulting Gallup or Harris. But that is a piece of information which Burdick's own personal computer seems incapable of digesting.

Fiction

Caution: Falling Prose

GUY DAVENPORT

OF TWO of these books we can only say that logorrhea is the curse of this unfortunate Republic. Our third offering is happily brief and concise. The verbal cinema, or fat novel, trying desperately to account for all the action which a camera sees, all the noise, tone, whatever, that the senses pick up effortlessly, is not only an anachronism; it is a bore. *Tumor africanus,* the rhetorical disease of swollen speech—we must thank St. Augustine for the dread phrase—has afflicted the novel until nothing but the severest cutting back can save the form. A story ought not to be accessible in spite of its form, and there is too much reading to be seen to without coming upon middens of words, glaciers of ineptitude.

Robert Penn Warren has written well in his day; *All the King's Men* has been misread by a decade of undergraduates, but it is still a good book. Now that he has written half a dozen novels, he cannot write at all. *Flood* ("A romance of our time," says the subtitle) is all but plotless; what plot there is is silly beyond belief. Brad Tolliver (catch the knuckly he-man name), one of those sweaty, swearing, honest, drab, thinking heroes who turn up in Professor Warren's novels, has been commissioned by Yasha Jones, a Hollywood type with shaven head, to do a scenario for a film about a Tennessee town that is soon to be inundated by the backwaters of a federal dam. He writes it (by page 300-something) and Jones doesn't like it. That's the plot. Oh, there are other things. There's a respectable blind lady who turns out to be a hoor. There's a Negra murderer who won't pray before he's electrocuted. There's a poor-white swamp character without the nasty inhibitions of those of us who brush our teeth.

Professor Warren's prose is unclear, gritty, even sticky. He has lost all sense of form he ever had; his chapters are insignificant; his ear misses the tune of even the simplest speech. Here are flashbacks like wens growing on the page, and turgid accounts of action that a fly in molasses could rival for grace. The novel's message, that humanity needs nerve, morale, and dignity, is one we knew before we paid six dollars for an inept restatement of it. The publishers say the novel is written with "masterful precision," and they are welcome to their opinion.

GORE VIDAL'S *Julian* is about the last Roman emperor who tried to revive the old gods, all of them he could find, in a world already Christian. Church history calls him The Apostate, though Mr. Vidal would have him pagan (with a leavening of Neoplatonism) all the way. If Marguerite Yourcenar had not written the brilliant *Memoirs of Hadrian,* which *Julian* baldly imitates, he might have here an original novel. *Hadrian,* like the classical novels of Robert Graves and Mary Renault, has a theme and tone, however world-weary and autumnal. Mr. Vidal seems to have set himself the task of writing a sassy, anti-Christian book, come Hell or high water. He has not written a bad book, by any means; he has done his homework; he has even invented a detective-story ending to account for Julian's death. (There are readers who will want to look for political parables for our time in Julian's death.)

His novel paces slowly, at moments with real majesty, through some of the strangest times of history, when a civilized Roman could know the

Flood, by Robert Penn Warren. Random House, $5.95

Julian, by Gore Vidal. Little, Brown, $6.95

Extreme Magic, by Hortense Calisher. Little, Brown, $5.00

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long-moustached, melancholy tribesmen of Britain, arrogant Germans hawking in dim forests, and be shown the tree on the Ilissus, outside Athens, where Socrates talked one morning with the astonished and chagrined Phaedrus. The Julian Mr. Vidal gives us is a humorless cuss, something of a religious fanatic. This is a novel that distrusts high office and sees little but grandiose folly in history. It is, to be sure, the weary last days of western Rome that he writes of, and he chooses for device the disillusioned writing of three old men to tell his tale; no wonder the novel has such an air of lassitude. But the richness of world-end sadness he might have achieved—as Hermann Broch in *The Death of Vergil* or Thomas Mann in *The Holy Sinner*—is not here. We feel that, ultimately, Mr. Vidal saw no wisdom, no lesson at all in his long book, and settled for an empty disillusionment—which, at least, is fashionable.

HORTENSE CALISHER'S *Extreme Magic*, which we toss into this review as an example of brief, sharp writing, is a novella and a gathering of short stories. The novella, which gives the book its title, is one of those rare examples of almost perfect detachment. The writing is acid and aloof, but the understanding that guides every sentence is human; not warmly human—fair, rational, and tart. Her characters are suburban: imagine John O'Hara without his sighs of despair or gusto for calamity. These stories are classically satiric; Miss Calisher keeps human beings in a just perspective while probing their weaknesses and pretensions with a very busy needle indeed.

The moral of all this is that writing, after all, is a skill which demands excellence, and demands invention. Professor Warren's novel is all but unreadable because it is clumsily written, but it is unreadable in another sense because it is not new. It ought to have been written in the thirties when its characters were just going into their stereotype matrices. Mr. Vidal's novel belongs to the early forties, when its European models were not so well known. Miss Calisher's writing, brittle and fine as it is, at least belongs to our time, and will live through the next five years. The novella *Extreme Magic* stands a good chance of becoming an anthology piece of permanent interest.

The Art of Command

THOMAS A. LANE

IN *The Desert Generals*, Correlli Barnett used the key figures of the British World War II campaigns in Libya as central pieces for some fine narrative and perceptive criticism of the desert war. In *The Swordbearers*, he applies the same craftsmanship to the analysis of supreme command in World War I. The figures and key events of this history are von Moltke at the First Marne, Jellicoe at Jutland, Pétain in the French Army mutinies of 1917 and Ludendorff in the campaigns of 1918 on the western front. They are the hubs from which a wide-ranging appraisal of persons, events, doctrines and command decisions radiates.

The Swordbearers: Supreme Command in the First World War, by Correlli Barnett. Morrow, $7.50

Von Moltke was the reluctant captain who in 1905 doubted his own fitness to succeed von Schlieffen as Chief of the General Staff. He was the intelligence professional who knew and practiced the routine of command but could not master the forces, space, time and himself to produce victory. After forty-four years of peace, the military leadership of Germany had been so weakened by favoritism and favorites that the effectiveness of its military forces was blunted. This is the specter which haunts the United States today, the cost of bad leadership.

Recruiting Poster, 1914

Mr. Barnett attributes the German setback at the First Marne not to brilliant French leadership but to the tragic failure of von Moltke. He belittles the offensive spirit which had been carefully nurtured in the French Army after 1870, notes the stupid tactics which that *mystique* sometimes produced, but fails to recognize that this spirit sustained the French Army from defeat to defeat until it grasped the final victory. The von Moltke weakness was important, but not more important than the excellence of Marshal Joffre, whose command performance at the First Marne shines even through the Barnett account as a classic of good generalship.

The caution of Admiral Jellicoe at Jutland, which has fueled so much controversy about that battle, is seen by Barnett as the prudence of a commander who knew the capabilities and limitations of his forces. British naval supremacy, which had been the boast of Englishmen, accepted by the world since Trafalgar, was in 1916 a hollow shell. British superiority in weight and numbers faced German superiority in ship construction and quality of armament, in professional capacity and organization. Jellicoe was no military genius, but he was a competent master of his profession, calm and resolute and prudent in battle. He used his power to advantage in every round with the German High Seas Fleet, but he allowed von Scheer to escape in the night rather than challenge the German superiority in night battle. The deficiencies of the British Grand Fleet in 1916 were the product of a declining society and industry. Jellicoe's prudence and competence maintained the fiction of British naval excellence for another decade.

IN May of 1917, after the Russian Revolution in March had stirred militant socialism and pacifism, after the collapse of the costly Nivelle offensive in the Chemin des Dames, after General Henri Philippe Pétain had become Commander in Chief, serious mutiny broke out in the French Army. Before discipline was restored, 23,385 men were convicted of mutin-

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PORTRAIT OF AN ARIZONAN

WRITTEN BY
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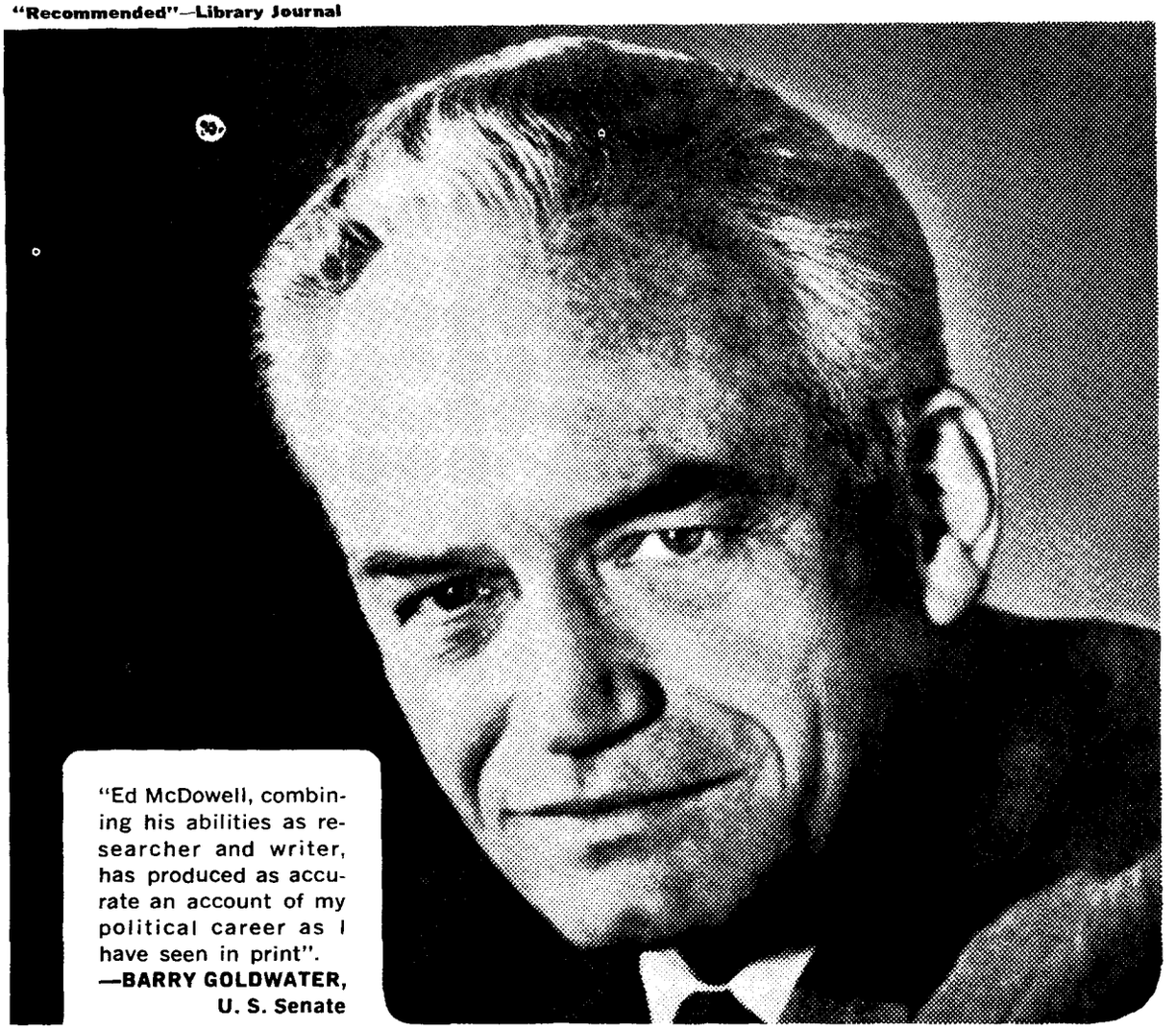

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ous conduct, 432 were sentenced to death and 55 were executed. That France survived the crisis was due largely to good soldier Pétain. He acted promptly to restore discipline by the arrest and trial of the offenders, but also by exacting higher standards of leadership and responsibility in the officer corps. He attended the just grievances of his men, made such reasonable provisions for leave and comfort as war would allow, and established sound doctrine and tactics for fighting the war.

The author views Pétain's sturdy leadership as an exception to the bad leadership which an impassioned but superficial dedication to the offensive spirit had inculcated in the French officer corps. His appreciation of Pétain is excellent, but his deprecation of the offensive spirit is misconceived. The great goal of French military leaders after the defeat of 1870 was to shape the Army into an offensive instrument which would stand the test of battle. Their success was attested at the First Marne, where an aggressive French Army defeated superior German numbers and armament. It was doubly attested in 1940 in the collapse of a nation and Army which had turned to Maginot ideas of war. The deficiencies of French leadership noted by the author were real and serious; but they persisted in spite of the French offensive doctrine, they did not proceed from it.

When on August 20, 1916 von Hindenburg was called to replace Falkenhayn as Chief of the German General Staff, Ludendorff came too, as deputy. Together they planned the campaign of 1918 on the western front, racing to use the German arms released by the Russian collapse of 1917 before the weight of the U. S. could tip the scales against the Central Powers. But it was too late.

Barnett describes the collapse of Ludendorff as an effective leader in the face of defeat. The victor of Tannenberg had been magnificent in concept and action when he had the resources for victory, but he collapsed into preoccupation with detail and paralyzed indecision when his campaigns of 1918 failed. Barnett exaggerates the failure for ideological reasons.

To be formidable in defeat is no doubt the greatest test of generalship. Lee was the model, and MacArthur showed the same quality at Bataan. Ludendorff was not made of such stuff. But Ludendorff did have what was not so much a personal quality as the product of General Staff training. He understood that when the war was lost, it should be ended quickly—not be prolonged with agonizing and futile sacrifice. After the madness of Hitler, Germans may look back with thanksgiving to Ludendorff's insistence on immediate surrender.

The Swordbearers is lucid, controversial military history, bearing the authentic stamp of British objectivity which has made world history a subsidiary department of British history. It is fairly well mapped and agreeably illustrated with photographs of the cast.

Men and Manners

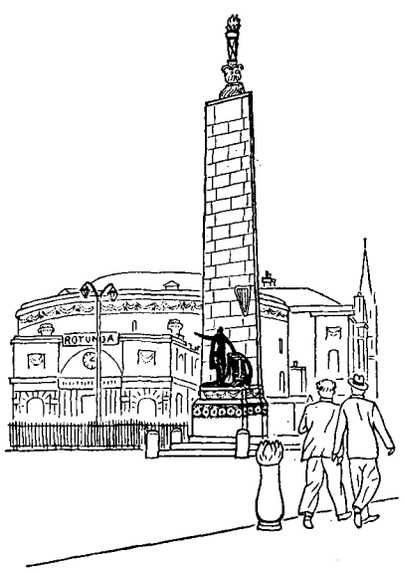
Dublin in the Doldrums

With a Brief Memory of Brendan Behan

FRANCIS RUSSELL

NOW THAT Brendan Behan is dead, I suppose there will be the same rush of reminiscences and recollections that there were about Dylan Thomas. Both those wild Celts seemed to have had the same innate gift of words, and their bent for self-destruction ran the same course. Once, in one of his periodic dryings-out in a Dublin hospital, Brendan was approached by a well-meaning priest. But as soon as he spied the clerical collar he "lept" from his bed, wrapped a sheet round himself and bolted down the corridor shouting: "The druids are after me!" I expect I shall hear that story with variations a dozen times in the next year or so.

I met Brendan Behan in 1947, shortly after he had been released from a British jail, at the office—if you could call it that—of the sole Irish literary monthly, the *Bell*. Pedar O'Donnell was the editor then, having taken over from the *Bell*'s founder, Sean O'Faolain. It was said—with inaccurate malice—that Pedar was the richest Communist in Ireland. As a leftist he occupied a curiously contradictory position, for he had fought with the International Brigade in Spain, but on the other hand he had been a commandant in the Easter Rebellion. The second canceled out the first, leaving him officially unpopular but unassailable. Pedar was indeed a fellow traveler, though at heart a bourgeois deviationist. At the time I knew him, when no one else could manage it, least of all with an Irish passport, he had just come back from a trip to Poland. While there he had talked to everyone, among others to a group of Catholic dissidents. They in private bitter language had denounced the Communist government and everything about it. When they had finished, he told them he disagreed with them completely and condemned their point of view. But he added that everything they had told him he would keep secret as a matter of honor. A real Communist would have betrayed them at once to the secret police.



The Parnell obelisk, Dublin

Pedar was a minor character in the city of ghosts that postwar Dublin had become, where the great had passed and everything had happened long ago. The Abbey, where Yeats had strode down the steps like a stylized lion shaking his white mane, was given over to provincial charades scarcely worthy of ama-

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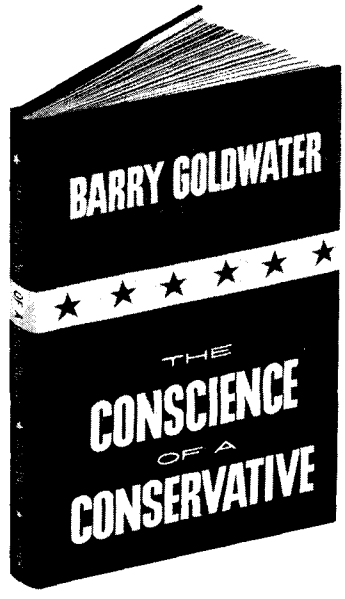

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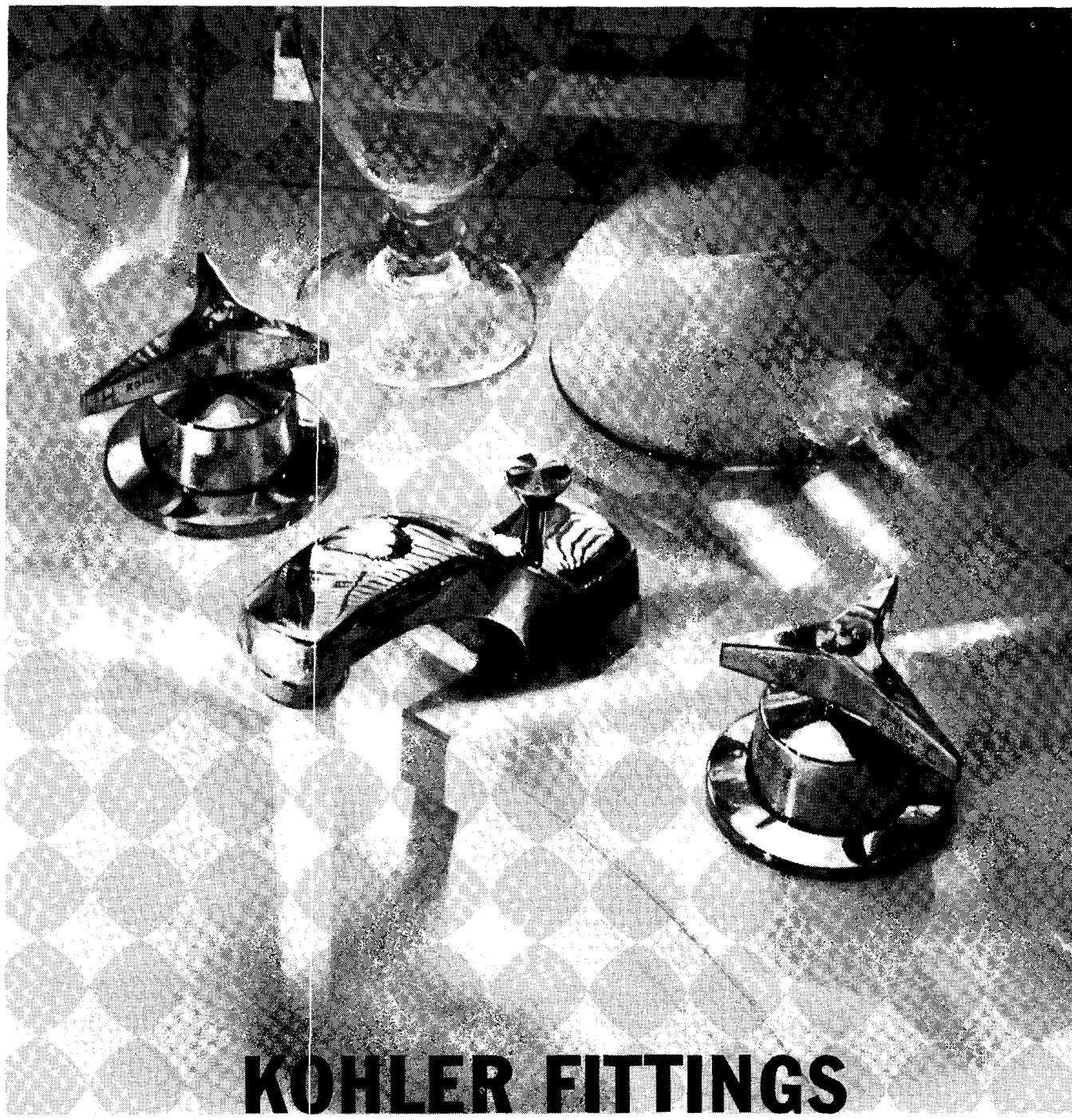

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teurs. The Arts Club that he had founded had become a gaggle of bridge players. Ely Place, where Moore used to walk along and rattle his stick against the iron palings to annoy Sir Thornely Stoker, was as ghostly as the gray tower in Sandycove, where on that bright morning 43 years before, Buck Mulligan, shaving cup in hand, had stood in the glittering sunshine to watch the mailboat leaving Kingston Pier. Place and tower had become as dim as Swift's deanery. Dublin's giants had all died or fled. Yeats, Moore, Joyce, A. E. were gone. Stephens and O'Casey lived in England, Gogarty had left for America.

Only a few peripherals remained, like Austin Clarke, an old artifact poet scarcely heard of across the Channel. Each Sunday afternoon he continued to hold a pathetic little open house. There was Winifred Letts who circa 1914 had written *The Spires of Oxford*, much quoted in World War I. And there was Miss MacNee, the caricaturist who had drawn the famous sketch of Yeats and A. E. passing each other on the street, unawares, on their way to call each on the other. At least two dozen people in Dublin owned the original of that drawing! But Miss MacNee had long since given up her caricatures, and now made artificial flowers. The only poet I knew of was Patrick Kavanagh, and he looked a character enough as he rode by on his high-seated bicycle, elbows akimbo. I still have a copy of his little volume *A Soul For Sale* that he signed for me at the Savoy Cinema café, filling his fountain pen with coffee when he discovered that it had run dry.

The Trinity eccentrics were diminished both in size and number since Mahaffy's day although there were lingering few. Sir Robert Tate, once junior dean until he did a tap dance on top of Mooney's bar, comes to my mind. He is said at the age of over sixty to have got a nursing sister in the family way, but his one real passion was collecting photographs of steam locomotives. And I remember the senior lecturer, of ancient family, with the brass hearing trumpet. Round his size thirteen neck he always wore a size sixteen clerical collar into which he tucked his handkerchief. I even remember an American who later wrote a fairly good, fairly successful novel about the group of GI Bill derelicts who drifted into Trinity after the war. He always dressed in corduroy—trousers, jacket, overcoat, even a little peaked corduroy cap. Meeting him at the Front Gate I used to think of the nursery rhyme of the man all dressed in leather.

But it was all ephemeral, parochial, scarcely extending beyond the shores of Dublin Bay. During that year I used to write occasional pieces for the *Bell*, both factual and fictional, about Irish-Americans. Often I would drop in at the *Bell* office. It was there on a rainy afternoon (every afternoon was rainy) that I met Brendan Behan. As I came through the door, I noticed a dark-haired young man sitting opposite Pedar near the window. He was thin, hard-muscled with a toughly humorous face, and wore a cheap pepper-and-salt tweed suit. Pedar introduced him—his name I promptly forgot—and said that he was one of the IRA dynamite boys who had been picked up in Liverpool in 1939 and had only just now been released from an English jail. I could see that one didn't put on weight behind the bars in England.

I don't remember how it came about, but we two left the *Bell* together. I mentioned that I had rooms at Trinity. Brendan said he had never seen the college, and I offered to show him through. We walked over O'Connell Bridge into College Green, past Goldsmith's statue and through the Front Gate. He glanced at the authoritative porter in his hard hat and jacket with the large brass buttons, smiled, and remarked that he had never expected to visit that heretical place. I took him to see the inevitable Book of Kells and the lesser tourist sights. Today I have no

Random Notes

● MOVIES: Another Godzilla's ready to roll! It's *Godzilla and the Giant Moth* this time. . . . José Ferrer sets out to film Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice*. . . . Arthur Schlesinger Jr., under his reporter's hat at the Cannes Film Festival, discovered a linguistic trap: a scholar's reading knowledge of French but no practice in catching it by ear, so that he could understand movies in the most outlandish tongues — all with French subtitles—but not the French movies. . . . The Dutch have twice banned *Dr. Strangelove*, for "containing an insult to a friendly nation." . . . And *Quo Vadis?* has been resurrected, to satisfy any craving for further Roman history which *The Fall of* may have generated.

● CIVILIZATION HOLDS: The Spanish Government has made it a felony, with a sentence of two years in prison, for a reviewer to review a book he has not read.

● YOU CAN'T WIN: On top of the current bandying about of the immemorial academic problem of publish-or-perish, Mercy College in Detroit has sacked a prof because he's "more interested in writing than teaching."

● PROPAGANDA: To show that not *all* Americans despise Dr. Castro, the Prague Symphony Orchestra, Stanislav Knor at the piano, has issued a flashy new recording of George Gershwin's *Cuban Overture*. . . . Waiting for *Dr. Strangelove*'s hilarity to quiet down, Columbia plans to release its oh-so-serious *Fail-Safe* in October.

● TITLES: London is to see the opening of a play with a longer title than Arthur Kopit's *O Dad, Poor Dad, Mamma's Hung You in the Closet and I'm Feelin' So Sad*, namely Peter Weiss' *The Persecution and Assassination of Jean Paul Marat as Performed by the Inmates of the Asylum of Charenton under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade.*

● BOOKS: For August 31, *Selected Letters of Robert Frost*, edited by Lawrance Thompson, Frost's official biographer (Holt, $10). . . . Also from Holt, in October, Kurt Klinger's collection of John XXIII's droll and human remarks, *A Pope Laughs* ($3.95).

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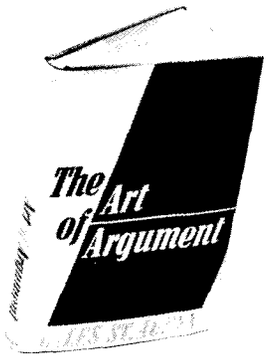
HOW TO ARGUE AND WIN!



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particular recollection of what we talked about, only a vague sense of noting the holly bushes glistening in the wet as we passed the campanile. We recrossed College Green and had coffee at Bewley's. I must be one of the very few people who ever drank coffee with Brendan Behan. As we sat in the back room he talked a little about the IRA dynamiters and a little about being locked up in England. He must have had a hard time, but he seemed to think it all very funny. I had no idea he had any interest in writing. I never saw him again.

QUITE A FEW months later I noticed the title of an article on the cover of the *Bell,* "Christmas in Borstal" I think it was called, by Brendan Behan. I realized it must be the same young man in the pepper-and-salt suit I had shown through Trinity. Somehow I discounted the piece, and did not get round to reading it for several weeks. When I did, I was astonished. Here, out of the green, was somebody with talent, real glowing talent and not just the little will-o'-the-wisps who were hacking about Dublin. How extraordinarily he had recaptured the Borstal scene, with that indefinable quality of a writer that conjures up the past so that the reader relives it. It is a quality that escapes literary analysis—but that young man had it.

The *Bell* extract became a chapter in *Borstal Boy.* I think even when I had merely read the extract I knew that Ireland had again produced someone of stature. Aldous Huxley somewhere defined maturity as the quality of detachment. That, for all his youth, Brendan Behan had, a comic detachment with which he surveyed everything from the IRA and British officialdom to himself. And nowhere a trace of self-pity, no sorrowing Werther or moping Stephen Dedalus. I still don't see how a boy could have borne up so buoyantly under so much and finally without bitterness have turned the experience to his artistic purpose.

After *Borstal Boy,* Behan became famous. He doubled or even tripled in size, so that I could scarcely recognize in the photographic likenesses of that man-mountain the lean young fellow with whom I once spent part of a rainy afternoon. Like Dylan Thomas and Roy Campbell he glowed in transit like a meteor, trailing after

WHAT ELSE CAN WE SAY!"

たまには變つた
フランス料理は？

◆ムーゼリン ド スウモン
◆ル キヤネトン オウ ペッシ
◆ラ タート、オウ フレイゼー
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というのはいかが？
ぜいたく過ぎるつて？
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him smoky crowds of sycophants and hangers-on. But of his years of fame I have no knowledge. Why he seemed compelled to destroy himself I have no idea. All I know is that I once drank coffee with him.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE KATANGA CIRCUS, by Mugur Valahu (Speller, $6). The author was born in Rumania, fought on the Russian front in WW II, got his law degree in Paris, has been a journalist for twenty years, and is an American citizen. He spent two years in Katanga during the long and foredoomed struggle for self-determination, and his knowledge of the Communist takeover in Rumania gives him an awesome benchmark for judging the failures of the U.S., the major Western nations, the UN at Léopoldville and Elisabethville. This detailed, day-by-day account is a priceless record of those confused years, written by an urbane citizen of the West and a skilled journalist. Mr. Valahu wrote the text in a witty and graceful French, then made the mistake of translating it himself into an English that greatly needs the help of a native editor. But despite these merely mechanical flaws, this volume will endure as the most complete and impartial narrative of the UN aggression against black and white in Katanga.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT, by John M. Swomley Jr. (Beacon, $6.00). Military officers, if you would believe this book, are rather simple-minded, given to rash judgments and are clearly incapable of contributing any meaningful insight into the nature of the enemy. Swomley, a veteran anti-conscription agitator, begins this obviously hastily written work by making several valid, if brief, observations about civilian superiority over the military and about the difficulty in appraising defense budgets. Supposedly an "historical" analysis of the military in the United States, the book includes exactly one-and-a-half pages of pre-Civil War coverage, then swings into its main argument: "The pattern of militarism . . . has pervaded the whole American system of values so that there is

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And since this appears to be a winning year for conservatives, your university or club might also write now for openings in the fall schedules of our other speakers: William A. Rusher, publisher of *National Review;* Dr. Thomas Molnar, author of *The Decline of the Intellectual;* Frank S. Meyer, editor and author; Ralph de Toledano, columnist and author; Dr. Ernest van den Haag, author of *Passion and Social Constraint;* Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, world traveler and lecturer; and L. Brent Bozell, author and lecturer on the Supreme Court.

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A Clear Case of "Gobble and Git"

by
Julian P. Van Winkle
Senior Proprietor
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Established 1849

One of our Kentucky countrymen, visiting in Washington, was invited by his Congressman to attend one of those frequent (and often frenzied) cocktail parties which seem so much a part of the national scene.

Our man was accustomed to the leisurely type of Kentucky hospitality where the enjoyment of food, drink and quiet conversation occupy the greater share of a sociable evening.

Back home he recalled his experience. "We were out in ten minutes," he reported. "It was giggle-gabble-guzzle-gobble, git."

Never a guest at such an event, I have no way of knowing how much good made-in-America Bourbon is "guzzled" at official Washington parties.

A sizeable share I would assume, judging from our administrators' sworn endeavor to encourage American industry, staunch the outward flow of gold, lick unemployment and contain foreign competition.

At such functions, with foreign emissaries present—English, Scotch, Canadian, Russian, etc.—it is no more than international courtesy to provide their native potables. But Americans, for the most part I would hope, might take patriotic pride in drinking strictly American.

Outside of Washington, American professional and businessmen, many facing serious problems of foreign competition, gather by the thousands in conferences, conventions, etc.

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no longer an effective counterforce to the military in American political life." And: "The real foreign policy problem facing the United States is . . . whether the vested interest of the Pentagon is willy-nilly to be identified with that of the United States and western civilization." And finally, not surprisingly: "One of the most dangerous results of the alliance between the military and industry is the growth of a large right-wing extremist movement in the United States." A.E. GOLLAN

HOW THE FAR EAST WAS LOST: *American Policy and the Creation of Communist China, 1941-1949,* by Anthony Kubek (Regnery, $8.75). Lately we have heard a lot about the "myth" and the "realities" of American foreign policy and the need for a "great debate" on how to best deal with the Communists. Kubek has made his contribution to the debate in the form of a revisionist study (meaning one that doesn't agree with the prevailing orthodoxy) of our diplomacy and its contribution to the success of Mao and Stalin in China. If we can learn anything from history, this is an excellent place to learn it; the patterns and persuasions of the China fiasco are with us again. Our Fulbrights would have us learn to live with the "realities" of the world. Good enough—but first let us learn to know what the realities are, for instance, the realities of what happened in China. Kubek's version of reality seems to be supported by extensive scholarship and irrefutable assembling of the facts. If he is wrong as a historian, his facts and interpretations must be refuted. So far that hasn't been done. If he is right and is listened to, then perhaps he will be proved correct in his assertion that the greatest mistake in 100 years of American diplomacy was allowing the Communists to gain power in China. If he is right and is not listened to—well, who wants to see a revisionist book on how we lost Latin America, or Europe, or Africa, or . . . . W. D. JACOBS

ESSAYS OF A HUMANIST, by Sir Julian Huxley (Harper, $4.95). Reading these essays, one has the sense of a rather elderly gentleman, florid and a bit disheveled, lecturing a group of well-off but unmarried middle-aged ladies at the local Church of Divine Cosmic Mental Science—the one in the Spring Room of the Shilton-American Hotel, 4.00-5.00 p.m., Sunday afternoon. Sir Julian is writing about Evolutionary Humanism. That is to say, these fourteen essays are "devoted to the idea of Progress, in nature and in man." Fittingly enough, the first is "The Emergence of Darwinism" (Darwin, from whom all blessings flow). It finishes with a ringing declaration on Human Destiny: "In principle, it can be rationally defined on the basis of scientific knowledge, and rationally pursued by the aid of scientific methods." Another essay is about "Psychometabolism." The brain, it seems, is a psychometabolic organ. There is some talk here about *psychergy.* This is that "something operating in the awareness-organization of man and higher animals which is analogous to energy in the physical sense." All this is important because "good poems and paintings are among the highest products of man's psychometabolic activities." We had better learn about it, then. Also: there is a mention of Marilyn Monroe and Sophia Loren as "striking examples of supernormal stimuli" (one can hear the ladies in the Spring Room tittering at the old gentleman's still virile sense of humor). "The Humanist Frame" appears to be the keystone of the collection. We read: "In the evolutionary pattern of thought there is no longer either need or room for the supernatural. The earth was not created: it evolved. . . . So did religion. Religions are organs of psychosocial man . . . destined to disappear in competition with other truer, and more embracing thought-organizations." Besides "The Humanist Frame" there are a number of other essays, including two on birds, one on Teilhard de Chardin, and finally, "Eugenics in Evolutionary Perspective," which is about eugenics. It is difficult to take this sort of book seriously. One would not, except that so many others do. Sir Julian is a much honored personage: former Secretary of the Zoological Society of London; knighted in 1958; Director General of UNESCO, 1946-48. And that's no joke. G. M. PEPPER

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TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 564)

with ten inches of steel or equivalent shielding outside it?"

One important thing that Lindsay overlooks is the fact that by incorporating non-radioactive cobalt in the nuclear bomb it will become radioactive when the bomb explodes and so be deposited in the area covered. In other words it is not necessary to transport radioactive cobalt for such purposes. It becomes radioactive when the explosion takes place.

Los Angeles, Cal. JOHN H. SCHAEFER, M.D.

Power Politics

In his article "Crumbling Line" [June 16] James Burnham states: "The major historic drive of our nation has always been to the west . . . then out across the Pacific toward the far islands and the coastlands of Asia. We fought a terrible war only twenty years ago to prevent a rival power from seizing control of the Pacific."

I infer that he is saying here that our actions in the last war and our presence in Vietnam now stem from a desire to protect our prestige and power in Asia. This is not what I understand to be the conservative argument for preventing "the loss of the Mekong valley—and thus of Southeast Asia. . ." If this be our objective, lez git!

Next September I will go on active duty with the Marine Corps. If I should have to give my life, let it not be that the President might tell Japan with whom she may trade, or that he might overthrow a government which he does not like. But rather that human worth might be cherished and that a people have the freedom to face its problems assured of a continuity of its social order and time-honored moral values.

Berkeley, Cal. JOHN PARSONS

But in this world there can be no continuity of social order or time-honored moral values without facing the realities of power. —ED.

The Brown Decade

You state [June 2] that in ignoring *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* the present Supreme Court violated established doctrine. Then you say that in the *Brown* case the Court used writings of sociologists which for some reason or other is supposed to be bad. Did you not know that in *Plessy* v.

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Purpose of Government

When those delegates from the sovereign American states met in Philadelphia in 1787 "to form a more perfect Union," they blazoned forever in the Constitution the only legitimate base and purpose of government: "We the people . . . in order to . . . secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain . . . this Constitution."

They hammered out the necessary provisions—republican form of government, open discussion of national issues, no tax discrimination, no religious test for public office, strictly limited powers to three separate branches of the federal government which (with the state governments) were designed to "check and balance" each other, and many other basic ideas and mechanisms to prevent government from destroying the rights of man. They did this for their "posterity." That's you.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN We take them for granted today. But our forefathers fought for them, one by one—and wrote them down for all to see.

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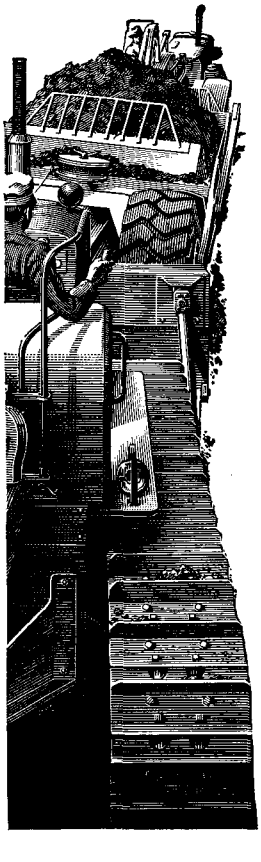

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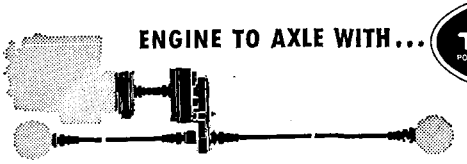

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Ferguson sociological theories of that day were also used to justify the Court's findings?

After visiting the Deep Southern states I cannot hold to the view that the little integration we have would have come about without the *Brown* case. Also idiotic is your view that we must wait till men change their hearts before better relations can come. When somebody kicks me and my kids in the head I want them to stop not when they change their hearts but NOW. You wish to aid the Cubans now, not when Castro changes his heart. . .

Long Island City, N.Y. JOHN SPANOS

*1) Plessy did not violate but upheld and applied established doctrine—constitutional doctrine, that is, not sociological. 2) The statistical curve proves that the rate of school integration in the pre-*Brown *decade was higher than in the post-*Brown *decade. 3) It is not a question of whether we "must wait" until hearts change; we will wait that long, whatever laws get passed. For proof, cf. Mississippi and Central Park.* —ED.

Solution

If the diplomats would stop their double-talk and act in a forthright and forcible manner the whole problem of the Middle East could be solved in four simple steps. *Viz:*

1) Move the Greeks on Cyprus to Greece.

2) Move the Turks on Cyprus to Turkey.

3) Move the Jews from Israel to Cyprus.

4) Let the Arabs divide up Israel amongst themselves.

Q. E. D.

Clymont, Del. TONY BURTON

5) And move Burton to Baghdad, to preside over the prevailing felicity. —ED.

Wallace at Notre Dame

Permit me to protest your distortion of my position on Gov. Wallace's appearance at the University of Notre Dame [June 2].

. . . I am surprised that a supposedly conservative journal was so blinded by partisan ideological presuppositions as not even to recognize an ancient distinction and an ancient problem that has been central to the Western tradition since Socrates. Perhaps the barbarians are not only

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at the gates but already in the citadel of NATIONAL REVIEW.

Notre Dame, Ind. E. A. GOERNER
Professor, Dept. of Government

Erratum

In processing my paragraphs for the June 16 issue, someone reversed the compass, and "east" and "west" of the Pacific got turned around. Our West Coast is, of course, the Pacific's "eastern shore"; the "western Pacific" is out there in "the Far East," not off California.

Kent, Conn. JAMES BURNHAM

Prisoner of War

V. Borin's article, "Who Killed Diem and Why?" [June 2], was of special interest to me. My son, Lt. James N. Rowe, Detachment Commander of an Advisory Team at Tan Phu, was ambushed and, with Capt. Versace and Sgt. Pitzer, was captured on October 29, 1963. Survivors saw the three men being dragged off down the trail, wounded but alive and on their feet. According to reports, the three are still alive and in fair health, being seen from time to time as the Viet Cong drag them through some village for propaganda purposes. Every effort is being made, we know, through International Red Cross, and other sources, to locate them and bring about release or exchange.

We have no doubts, our faith is complete, eventually they will be released.

McAllen, Tex. LEE D. ROWE

Kudos

More of Ralph de Toledano, please. He's one of the most lively and colorful writers on the American scene today.

Bronx, N.Y. VALERIE C. HURLEY

A Little Awkward

I see that I have received a gift subscription to your magazine. I am always delighted to read subversive literature, as it keeps my mind alert. I do have one request, though: would you mind sending it in a plain wrapper? It is sometimes a little awkward to have your neighbors know what kind of magazines you read. . . .

Thanks so much. I knew you'd understand.

Berkeley, Cal. GENEVIEVE HUGHES

Come on now, Genevieve, live dangerously—SLATE will protect you against the fell hand of Berkeley orthodoxy! —ED.

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But most Americans have forgotten that those ten original amendments to the Constitution in 1791 were specifically designed to stop *our own government* from destroying our rights. In fact, many Americans now believe again that the source of rights *is* government! That idea could wipe out 800 years of hard-won progress toward human freedom and dignity.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN We take them for granted today. But our forefathers fought for them, one by one—and wrote them down for all to see.

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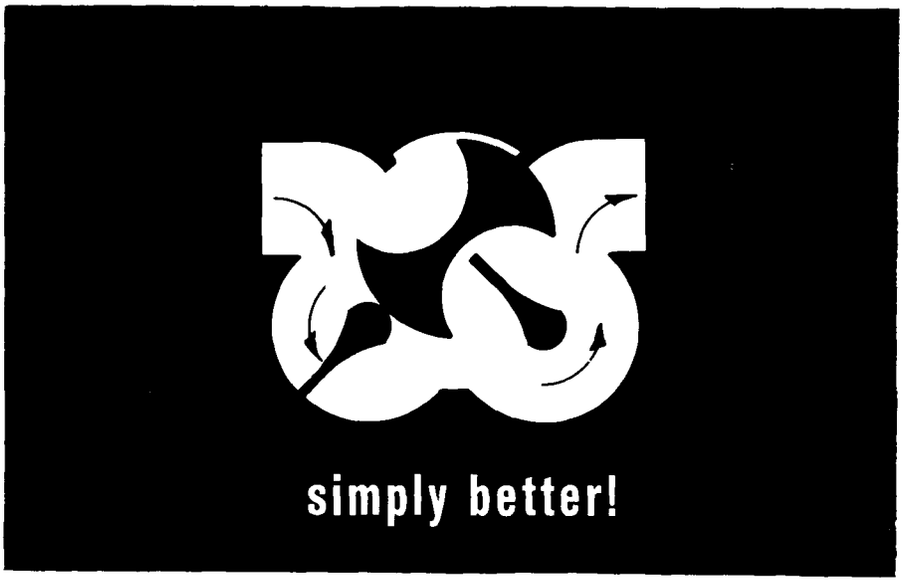

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. American singer (1882-).	32 24 3 58 44 75
B. Senator from Illinois, 1909-1912; election declared invalid.	125 178 87 138 224 205 154
C. He listened to Hubert Humphrey for eight hours.	41 103 194 12 114 173 60 217 120 209
D. Pertaining to language.	129 140 14 82 104 148 169 36 183 121
E. The doctrine that the useful is the good.	86 59 150 25 142 71 46 105 167 89 97
	202 37 180
F. System under which government runs everything—and everybody.	98 130 179 115 15 160 26 172 62
G. Region in Republic of South Africa.	197 27 134 165 175 171 219 227 208
H. Ideal role for small town actor.	207 143 185 79 99 28
I. Pertaining to an uncouth or bizarre oddness.	222 218 38 162 166 189 5 116 184 72
J. A law that laid an egg (2 words).	53 156 90 16 170 192 74 51
K. Pertaining to doctrine which denies any objective or real ground of truth.	65 145 100 158 201 211 196 127 1 221
L. You may belong to one of these involuntarily (2 words).	93 54 47 29 13 6 226 113 83 139
M. Place name, England, Massachusetts, Nova Scotia.	31 161 39 63 91 76 176 187

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
N. One who needs money to indulge his hobby	88 64 77 40 55 223 92 106 48 102 118
O. Lacking in some quality necessary for completeness.	190 4 2 66 177 204 42 149 141
P. Being on the extreme external part.	200 195 157 214 30 229 122 67 186
Q. Editor, Saturday Review.	212 108 168 68 19 155 7 135 225 198 33
	193 206
R. Name of a wool.	228 56 153 23 49 163 182 213
S. Henry Luce's tenure.	17 8 84 147 152 50 109 188
T. Motto found on some coins (several wds.).	73 45 94 57 20 69 78 136 131 174 9
	181 110
U. Italian composer (full name).	10 80 111 132 215 124 199 18 146 128 21
	216 95
V. A pleasant Danish custom.	101 70 144 22 34 81 11 85 112 43 133
	117 164 126 191
W. Capital, State of Falcon, Venezuela.	107 61 137 159
X. Those who own or sail a certain type of vessel.	52 96 203 119 220 35 123 210 151

See page 604 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out, it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black squares indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

■	1 K	2 O	■	3 A	4 O	5 I	6 L	7 Q	8 S	9 T	10 U	■	11 V	12 C	13 L	■
14 D	15 F	16 J	17 S	18 U	19 Q	20 T	■	21 U	22 V	23 R	24 A	25 E	26 F	27 G	28 H	29 L
30 P	31 M	■	32 A	33 Q	34 V	35 X	36 D	■	37 E	38 I	39 M	40 N	41 C	42 O	■	43 V
44 A	45 T	46 E	47 L	48 N	49 R	50 S	51 J	52 X	■	53 J	54 L	55 N	■	56 R	57 T	58 A
59 E	■	60 C	61 W	62 F	63 M	64 N	65 K	66 O	67 P	68 Q	■	69 T	70 V	■	71 E	72 I
73 T	■	74 J	75 A	76 M	77 N	78 T	79 H	80 U	81 V	82 D	■	83 L	84 S	■	85 V	86 E
87 B	■	88 N	89 E	90 J	91 M	■	92 N	93 L	94 T	95 U	96 X	97 E	98 F	99 H	■	100K
101V	102N	■	103C	104D	105E	106N	■	107W	108Q	109S	110T	111U	112V	113L	114C	115F
■	116I	117V	■	118N	119X	120C	■	121D	122P	123X	124U	125B	126V	127K	128U	■
129D	130F	131T	132U	■	133V	134G	■	135Q	136T	137W	■	138B	139L	140D	141O	142E
143H	144V	145K	146U	147S	■	148D	149O	■	150E	151X	152S	153R	154B	155Q	156J	157P
158K	159W	160F	161M	162I		163R	164V	165G	166I	167E	168Q	169D	■	170J	171G	172F
■	173C	174T	175G	176M	■	177O	178B	179F	180E	181T	182R	183D	184I	185H	■	186P
187M	188S	189I	■	190O	191V	192J	193Q	■	194C	195P	196K	197G	198Q	■	199U	200P
201K	202E	203X	204O	205B	206Q	■	207H	208G	209C	210X	■	211K	212Q	213R	214P	215U
216U	■	217C	218I	219G	220X	■	221K	222I	223N	224B	225Q	226L	227G	228R	229P	■

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For The Record

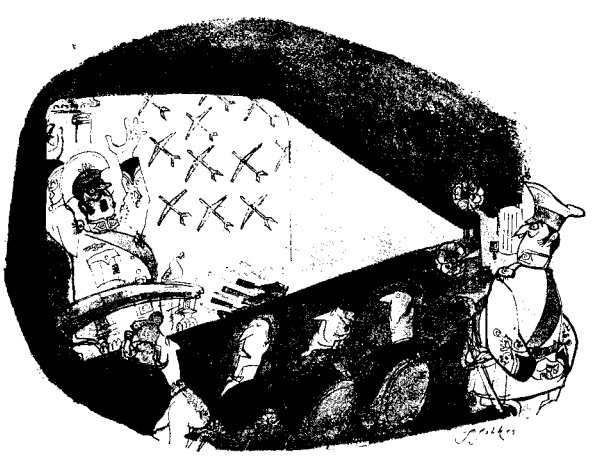
Least likely rumor of the week (in Washington Merry-Go-Round): that Sen. Thomas Kuchel (Lib. Rep., Cal.) may switch party allegiance if Sen. Goldwater is nominated in San Francisco. . . . It was just two months ago that Look magazine's Insider's Newsletter said the 1964 GOP convention might be the longest "since it took the Republicans 36 ballots to nominate James Garfield in 1880" and picked Sen. Kuchel as a possible compromise candidate. . . . German, and other continental papers which had given Goldwater little or no coverage other than of the warmongering Neanderthal type, now discussing his candidacy at greater length and with less flamboyance.

Observers at meeting of 500 young socialists who set up a new "socialist" group, the DuBois Clubs of America, in San Francisco last week (see p. 578), report that CP members won control of the new group and that it is Moscow (rather than Peking) oriented. Among those attending were well-known identified Communist non-youths William Mandel, Archie Brown and Holland Roberts (Roberts is old enough to qualify for Social Security.) . . . Radio Havana last week reported that the 75 American students who defied the State Department to visit Cuba have issued a statement denouncing U.S. intervention in South Vietnam and describing the fighting there as "the most brutal and criminal in history." . . . At the UN it's believed that the USSR will back Peking's admission to the UN in November but not forcefully.

Talks between Foreign Ministers de Murville (France) and Castiella (Spain) had to do with setting up a joint defense against possible Soviet submarines in the western Mediterranean. The Red subs are expected soon to be operating from Algerian bases, possibly under Algerian colors. . . . Although Communist Party is officially banned in Algeria both the newspapers and the radio are controlled by Communists and fellow travelers. . . . Les Galeries de France, the biggest chain of department stores in Algeria, closed down its stores in all the major cities a fortnight ago: with the departure of the French colons there wasn't enough money around to keep them in business.

Still rising in Democratic Vice Presidential contest (but still head-and-shoulders behind Bobby): Sen. Hubert Humphrey for successfully floor-managing civil rights bill through Senate and Sen. Eugene McCarthy who is both suitably Liberal and suitably Catholic. . . . If offered the Veep spot Adlai wouldn't say no. But his friends now cautiously feeling out possibilities that he might run against Kenneth Keating in New York.

Navy enraged over appointment of a third Army man in a row (Gen. Earl Wheeler) as Joint Chief of Staff. Many



Punch

"Don't you just hate *home movies?"*

Navy men think they are black-balled not because of organizational tiffs with Sec. McNamara but because State and White House believe top Navy officers favor harder global strategy. . . . White House has taken to labeling its main dish after honored guest. When asked the other day (during Cyprus Togetherness Week) what "Chicken Papandreou" was like one guest commented glumly: "Like left-over 'Chicken Inonu.' "

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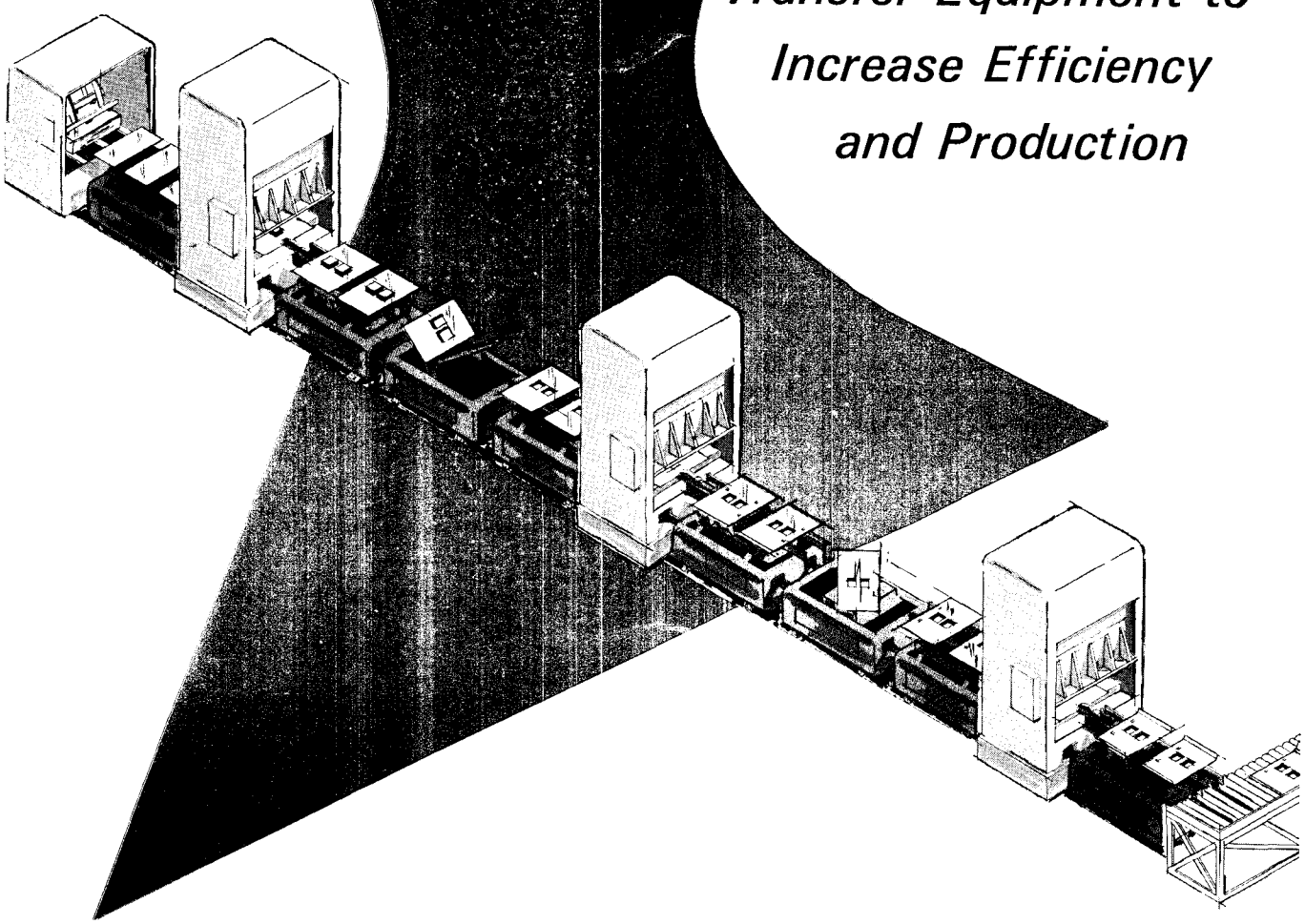

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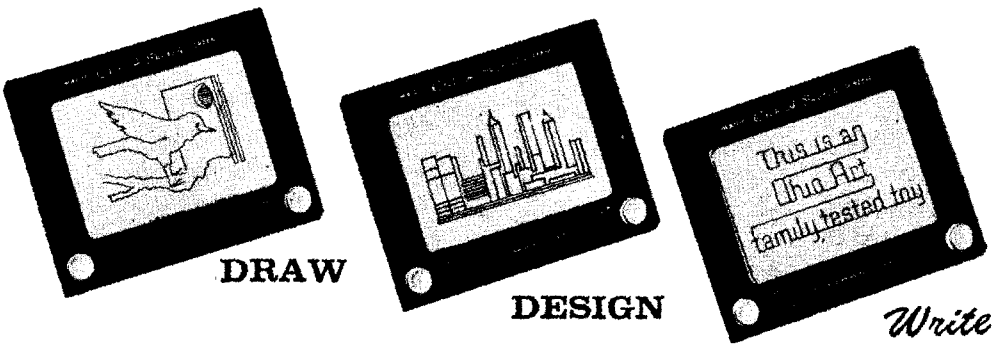

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